100TH ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL ISSUE

CANADA'S HISTORY

FORMERLY
THE BEAVER

1914 1918

THE WAR ENDS

THE AFTERMATH. THE LEGACY. BY TIM COOK

+ CHILDREN OF THE GREAT WAR | SPANISH FLU'S DEADLY GRIP | CANADA'S LAST CASUALTY

$ 7.99
DISPLAY UNTIL NOV 26
PM40063001
6 20058 28990 7 11
CANADASHISTORY.CA | OCT-NOV 2018

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONGRATULATES
THE MANITOBA MUSEUM ON THE RE-OPENING OF

THE NONSUCH GALLERY

Image © Manitoba Museum/Ian McCaus

hbcheritage.ca

CONTENTS

THE WAR ENDS

Vol 98:5

FEATURES

12 A Many-Layered Legacy
The impacts of the First World War continue to be felt today, a century after the armistice.
by Tim Cook

30 The Last Man
There are conflicting reports of Canada's last battlefield death, which came mere moments before the war ended.
by Ian Coutts

36 Grey War No More
A new photo-colourization project has brought the story of the Great War vividly to life.
by Marianne Helm

44 Children of Conflict
Young Canadians worked, worried, and waited during the war. *by Kristine Alexander and Ashley Henrickson*

50 Peacetime killer
The 1918 Spanish flu pandemic felled nearly as many Canadians as the preceding war.
by John Lorinc

On the cover

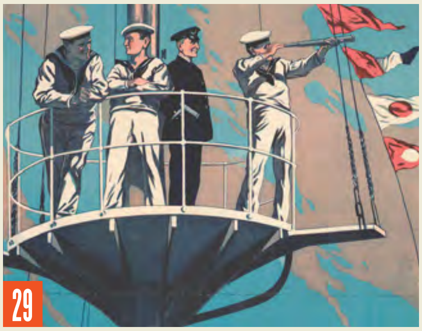
Crowds in London, England, fill the streets in celebration as news of the armistice spreads on November 11, 1918.

THE WAR ENDS

10

WAR OF ATTRITION

Soon after the war broke out in August 1914, both sides dug in. The ensuing trench warfare would cost millions of lives on both sides of the conflict.



29

WAR OF WORDS

Propaganda posters were a key tool used by the Canadian government to sell the war to the public. And when volunteer enlistments waned, the government employed shame tactics to force men to “do their bit.”

35

BATTLE BREAKDOWN

The terrors of the trenches left some soldiers quivering and incapacitated. Gradually shell shock came to be recognized not as cowardice but as a mental illness.

42

HOW THE WAR WAS WON

After years of stalemate on the Western Front, the Allies used a combination of new tactics and technologies to achieve victory.

48

PEACE OF MIND

The horrors of modern war were unbearable. That’s why Canada and other nations used entertainment and athletics to relieve soldiers’ stress.

56

FOR VALOUR

A look at the numbers behind the Victoria Cross – the highest medal awarded for bravery on the battlefield.

DEPARTMENTS

8 **The Packet** Red Ensign revered. Drum delights.

57 **Christopher Moore** Is it finally time for the First World War to fade into history?

58 **Roots** How to uncover your family’s Great War story.

60 **Destinations** Home-front historic sites offer glimpses of life during the Great War.

64 **Books** Snow blindness. Walking autobiography. Roadside attractions. More books: Apples spread, battlefield art, colossal canal, island city, salmon strikes, Red River women, favourite snacks.

74 **Album** A large family celebrates the armistice in London, England.

COMING UP IN CANADA’S HISTORY

Pirates!

When war broke out between Britain and France, both sides used pirates for hire – otherwise known as privateers – to prey on each other’s shipping.

18 **SUBSCRIBE**
Save 46% on the retail price*
www.CanadasHistory.ca
*46% savings offer available on Canadian orders only

CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM
-
MUSÉE CANADIEN DE LA GUERRE

VICTORY 1918
THE LAST 100 DAYS

ONF NFB

EXHIBITION OPENS OCTOBER 26

Generously supported by **John & Elizabeth Irving**

OFFICIAL PARTNERS, FIRST WORLD WAR CENTENARY

John and
Pattie Cleghorn
and Family

H.Col (Ret'd) John C. Eaton, O.Ont., K.St.J.,
D.Com. and H.Col (Ret'd) Sally Horsfall Eaton,
S.S.St.J., C.D., R.N., LL.D.

F C W M ✦ A M C G

VISIT FLANDERS

R. Howard Webster Foundation
Fondation R. Howard Webster

Canadä

SOUVENIR CATALOGUE

Cook and Granatstein delve into this decisive series of battles in our visual and evocative souvenir catalogue.

Get yours at warmuseum.ca/boutique.

CONFERENCE

Canada 1919: A Country Shaped by War

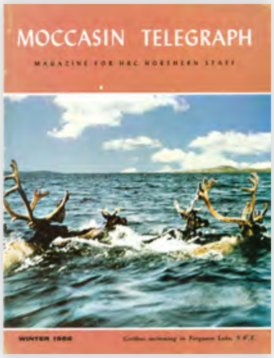
SAVE THE DATE:

Thursday, January 17 to Saturday, January 19, 2019

DO YOU
HAVE ANY
**REALLY
OLD**
*MOCCASIN
TELEGRAPH*
MAGAZINES?

We need your help!
We're looking for good-quality issues that we can scan for our digital archive.

January 1946
MOCCASIN TELEGRAPH
MAGAZINE FOR HBC FUR TRADERS
Featuring
YELLOWKNIFE
Home from the Sea
Post Libraries



MOCCASIN TELEGRAPH
MAGAZINE FOR HBC FUR TRADERS

Full details at
**CanadasHistory.ca/
MoccasinTelegraph**

CANADA'S HISTORY
CANADASHISTORY.CA

President & CEO Janet Walker

Editor-In-Chief & Director, Content & Communications
Mark Collin Reid

Art Director
James Gillespie

Features Editor
Nancy Payne

Associate Editor
Phil Koch

Content Coordinator
Alison Nagy

Online Manager
Tanja Hütter

Graphic Designer
Andrew Workman

Publisher
Melony Ward

Director, Finance & Administration
Patricia Gerow

Major Gifts Associate
Louise Humeniuk

Executive Assistant
Beverley Sawchuk

Circulation & Marketing Manager
Danielle Chartier

Advertising Inquiries
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

Director of Programs (on leave)
Joel Ralph

Acting Director of Programs
Joanna Dawson

Education & Outreach Coordinator
Jean-Philippe Proulx

Nobleman Scholar
Brooke Campbell

Circulation Consultants
Scott Bullock, Circ3 Solutions
P.J. Brown, Etatech Consulting

Photo Research Volunteer
Emily Gartner

Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Michael Rea, *Chair*

W. John Bennett
Tim Cook
Michèle Dagenais
Edward Kennedy
Sharon McAuley
Ry Moran
Sasha Mullally
Dave Obee
David Ross, *Past Chair*
Stephen Thomas
William Wicken

ADVISORY COUNCIL

E. James Arnett
A. Charles Baillie
J. Douglas Barrington
Elsa Franklin
Charlotte Gray
John Honderich
Gillian Manning
Don Newman
Peter C. Newman
Richard W. Pound
H. Sanford Riley
Thomas H.B. Symons
Jane Urquhart

Founding Publisher
Rolph Huband
1929–2016

President Emeritus
Joe Martin

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES
Canada, $32.95 (GST included)
Add $10 a year for U.S. orders
Add $18 for foreign orders

Phone: 1.888.816.0997
memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe
PO Box 118 Station Main
Markham, ON L3P 3J5

ISSN 1920-9894

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

EDITORIAL ADDRESS
Bryce Hall Main Floor
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9
Phone: 1.888.816.0997
Fax: 204.988.9309
info@CanadasHistory.ca

©2018 Canada's History Society.
All rights reserved.

GST # 13868 1408 RT 0001

PRIVACY PREFERENCE
Occasionally, we provide our subscriber list to external organizations that have products or services of interest to our readers. If you do not wish to receive such communications, please contact Member Services memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca

Postmaster – Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Canada's History PO Box 118 Station Main, Markham, ON L3P 3J5

Postage paid in Winnipeg.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40063001

Printed in Canada.

Alliance for Audited Media
The New Audit Bureau of Circulations

Funded by the Government of Canada
Financé par le gouvernement du Canada
Canada

MIX
Paper from responsible sources
FSC® C011825

Battle scars

In 2012, I visited the Vimy Memorial in France as part of a battlefields tour. The view from atop Vimy Ridge was breathtaking; it was easy to see how the capture of this ridge in April 1917 was considered a crowning achievement for the Canadian Corps.

Equally staggering was the sight of the 11,285 names etched into the memorial's walls, each representing a Canadian soldier killed in France but whose body was never found. Little did I know at the time that the name of one of my own ancestors was carved in that white stone.

I had grown up thinking that no one in my family had served in the First World War. Our photo albums contained no images of men in uniform, and we had no war medals to display.

However, in recent years, I discovered that at least three of my relatives enlisted.

Jeremiah O'Connell, my grandmother's uncle, volunteered in September 1915. He died barely a year later, his body shattered by a German shell and lost amid the ruin of the Somme.

Jeremiah's younger brother, Martin — my great-grandfather — volunteered in March 1916, only to change his mind in late July, on the eve of his battalion's departure for Europe. Why did Martin refuse to go overseas? I suspect it was related to his fiancée Viola's pregnancy. Martin returned to Apple River, Nova Scotia, and, on July 31, 1916, the army declared him a deserter. He and Viola were married nine days later.

Rufus, the youngest brother, was drafted late in 1917. Just a couple months later, while still in training, he contracted the Spanish flu and spent months in hospital convalescing. The war ended before he could reach the front.

The Great War cost the O'Connell family dearly: Jeremiah lost his life; Martin likely lost his reputation; and both Martin and Rufus lost their brother.

Sadly, my great-grandpa had only a brief time with his young family. Viola died of tuberculosis in 1922, and Martin himself died of cancer just seven years later, leaving my Granny Dorothy orphaned at the age of twelve — another child of the Great War generation who faced heartbreak and loss.

This November marks the one hundredth anniversary of the end of the First World War. A century later, the conflict continues to affect us — even if we don't fully realize it.

In this special issue, award-winning military historian Tim Cook explains how the Great War profoundly changed both Canada and Canadians. Elsewhere, we explore how the war impacted children; we recall the deadly Spanish Flu that erupted near the end of the war; and we profile the last Canadian soldier to die in combat — his death came mere minutes before the armistice was declared.

As for the O'Connell brothers, I don't recall any mention of them as I was growing up. After Martin's death, my Granny was taken in and raised by a family living near Truro, Nova Scotia. By the time I was a child, the story of the O'Connell brothers was ancient history.

As far as I know, there are no photos of Jeremiah, Martin, or Rufus, nor any letters from them that might reveal their feelings about what transpired during the war.

What little I do know about them comes as fragments of facts found in their attestation papers at Library and Archives Canada. I know, for instance, that Martin stood five foot six and had blue eyes and a "florid" complexion. Thanks to his medical files, I even know that he was missing two toes on his left foot. But I'll never know whether Martin regretted his decision to go AWOL or know the depths of his grief upon learning, just a month after his marriage to Viola, of Jeremiah's death.

Perhaps he told my Granny — but, sadly, I never thought to ask her. We lost her in 1999, and her stories of the Great War remain unspoken and unknown.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

Tim Cook, author of "A Many-Layered Legacy," has written eleven books, including *The Secret History of Soldiers: How Canadians Survived the Great War* (2018). He has won the C.P. Stacey Prize for Military History (twice), the Ottawa Book Award (twice), the RBC Taylor Prize for Literary Non-Fiction, and the J.W. Dafoe Book Prize (twice). He is a recipient of the Governor General's History Award and a Member of the Order of Canada.

Kristine Alexander co-wrote "Children of Conflict." She is Canada Research Chair in Child and Youth Studies and an associate professor of history at the University of Lethbridge. She is also the author of *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (UBC Press, 2017) and an editor of the academic journal *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*.

Ashley Henrickson co-wrote "Children of Conflict." She is the museum educator at the Galt Museum and Archives and an M.A. student at the University of Lethbridge. Her research has been supported by the Roger Soderstrom Scholarship and the Queen Elizabeth II Graduate Scholarship. She is a recipient of the Government of Canada History Award.

Ian Coutts wrote "The Last Man." He is the author of five books and co-author of two, among them *The Perfect Keg*, published in 2014, and 2010's *Brew North*, an illustrated history of beer and beer drinking in Canada. His writing has appeared in *Toronto Life*, *Canadian Geographic*, and the *Globe and Mail*. He is a recipient of the Editors' Canada Tom Fairley Award for Editorial Excellence.

John Lorinc wrote "Peacetime Killer." Lorinc is a Toronto-based journalist who has written for various media including the *Globe and Mail*, *The Walrus*, the *Washington Post* and *Spacing*. He has written and co-edited several books on cities, including *The Ward Uncovered: The Archaeology of Everyday Life* (Coach House Books, 2018).

Objects of interest

I read "Treasures of Canada" [August-September 2018] and, regarding the Red Ensign flag, perhaps can provide the reason so many "mourned its passing."

All the people who served in any of the military forces in first and second world wars, plus in Korea, fought under the Red Ensign and/or the Union Jack. The Maple Leaf flag meant nothing to them. Both of my husbands (Army and Air Force) had a hard time accepting the Pearson flag.

So yes, a lot of Canadians mourn the Red Ensign.

Carol Koeslag
Peterborough, Ontario

As a descendant of Private James Stephens, who served in the Nova Scotia Regiment of Fencible Infantry during the War of 1812, I was thrilled to see a regimental drum — shown in your "Treasures of Canada" article — that is preserved at the Nova Scotia Museum.

The fencibles were a British Army (full-time) militia unit raised locally to assist in reinforcing British interests.

Stationed at Halifax and captured by the American privateer *Surprise* while trying to resupply the garrison at St John's, Newfoundland, Stephens was repatriated after hostilities and settled in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.

Kevin Stephens
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

The title "Champlain's Astrolabe" for the one found near Cobden, Ontario, in 1867, 254 years after Champlain lost his, is misleading.

The title, mentioned in the "Treasures of Canada" article, carries an air of authenticity, whereas the Cobden astrolabe lacks provenance.

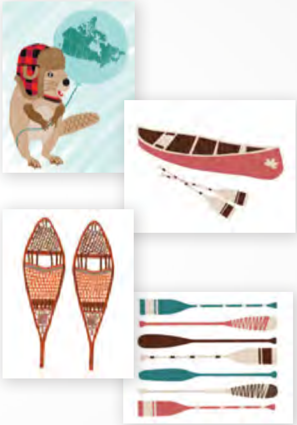
As Douglas Hunter wrote in an informative article "The Mystery of Champlain's Astrolabe," [*The Beaver*, December 2004-January 2005], "The Champlain provenance case for the 'Cobden astrolabe' ... appears so weak as to be ephemeral."

Champlain never mentioned its loss in his writings. When the Cobden astrolabe was discovered along with other items, those items were unconnected to it.

A myth has developed about the astrolabe that does not reflect the questionable facts surrounding the story.

George and Terry Goulet
Sechelt, British Columbia

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.



NEW ITEMS IN STORE NOW!
QUANTITIES ARE LIMITED!
ORDER TODAY!

SOCKS
BOW TIES
NOTECARDS

ORDER ONLINE AT CANADASHISTORY.CA/STORE OR PHONE 1-888-816-0997

CANADA'S HISTORY

LET YOUR PASSION DEFINE YOUR LEGACY

Your passion for Canada's natural spaces defines your life; now it can define your legacy. With a gift in your Will to the Nature Conservancy of Canada, no matter the size, you can help protect our most vulnerable habitats and the wildlife that live there. For today, for tomorrow and for generations to come.

Learn more about leaving a gift in your Will at NatureConservancy.ca/legacy or 1-800-465-0029

NATURE
CONSERVANCY
CANADA

A WAR OF ATTRITION

How Germany's goal of a swift victory turned into stalemate along the Western Front.

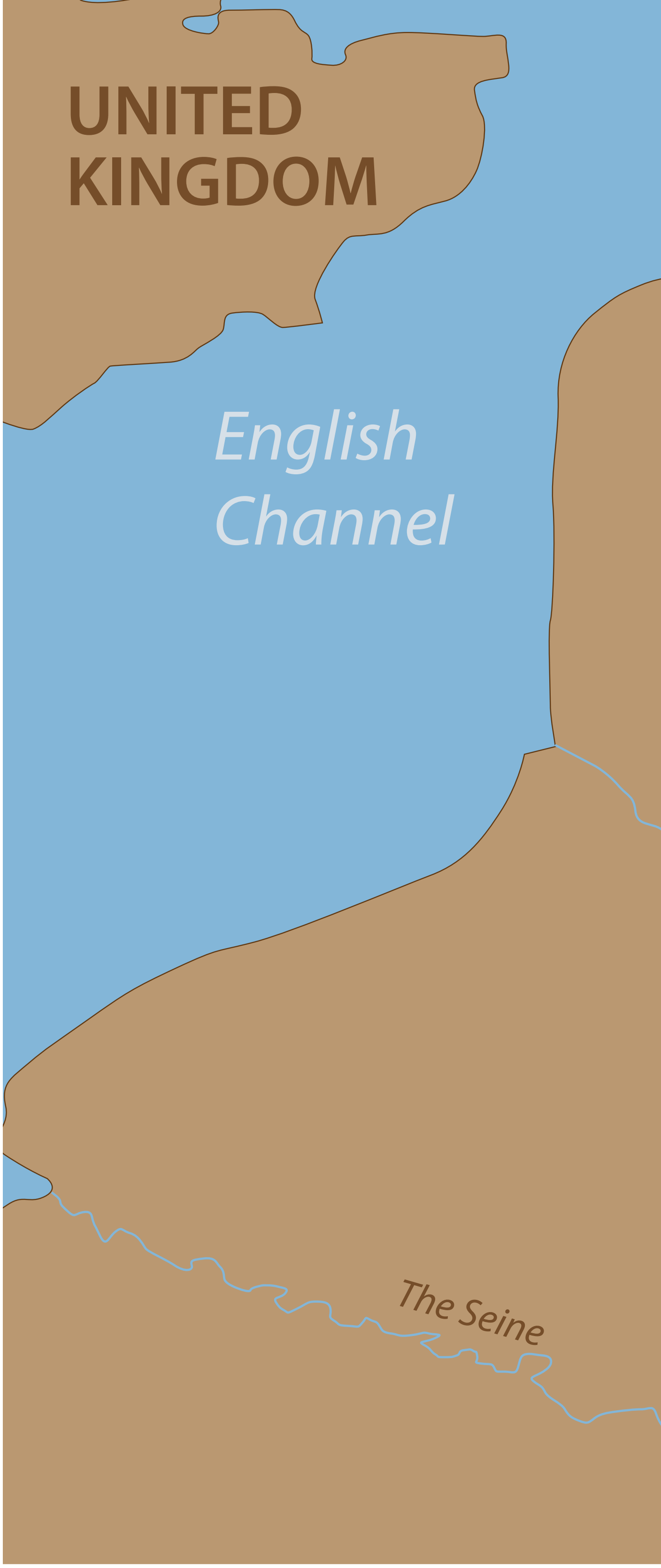
Germany entered the First World War with the expectation that it could quickly knock France out of the conflict and then turn its attention to its other major enemy, Russia.

Doing so was crucial to avoiding what Germany's military command most feared – simultaneously waging a two-front war against France in the west and Russia in the east.

In the years leading up to the Great War, the Germans devised an attack plan aimed at capitalizing on the perceived weakness of the French army and on Russia's logistical and technological challenges when it came to mobilizing its troops. The Schlieffen Plan, devised by Germany's chief of staff Alfred von Schlieffen, called for Germany to strike France via Belgium, thereby avoiding the strongly defended French border fortifications further to the south. The key to victory was capturing Paris before France's allies could join the battle. Then, Germany would focus its full military might against Russia.

However, the Schlieffen Plan quickly went awry. Russia mobilized faster than expected, and Belgium refused Germany's request to march its troops through Belgian territory. Forced to invade Belgium, Germany's advance was slowed. Meanwhile, Great Britain, Belgium's ally, declared war on Germany.

British and French forces stopped the German advance in northwestern France, and both sides began to dig in. This marked the start of the ghastly trench warfare that, over the course of the conflict, would maim or kill millions of soldiers on both sides. – *Mark Collin Reid*



GREAT WAR TIMELINE

JUNE 28, 1914

SPARK IGNITED

Long-simmering conflicts between the European powers boil over after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria.

AUGUST 4, 1914

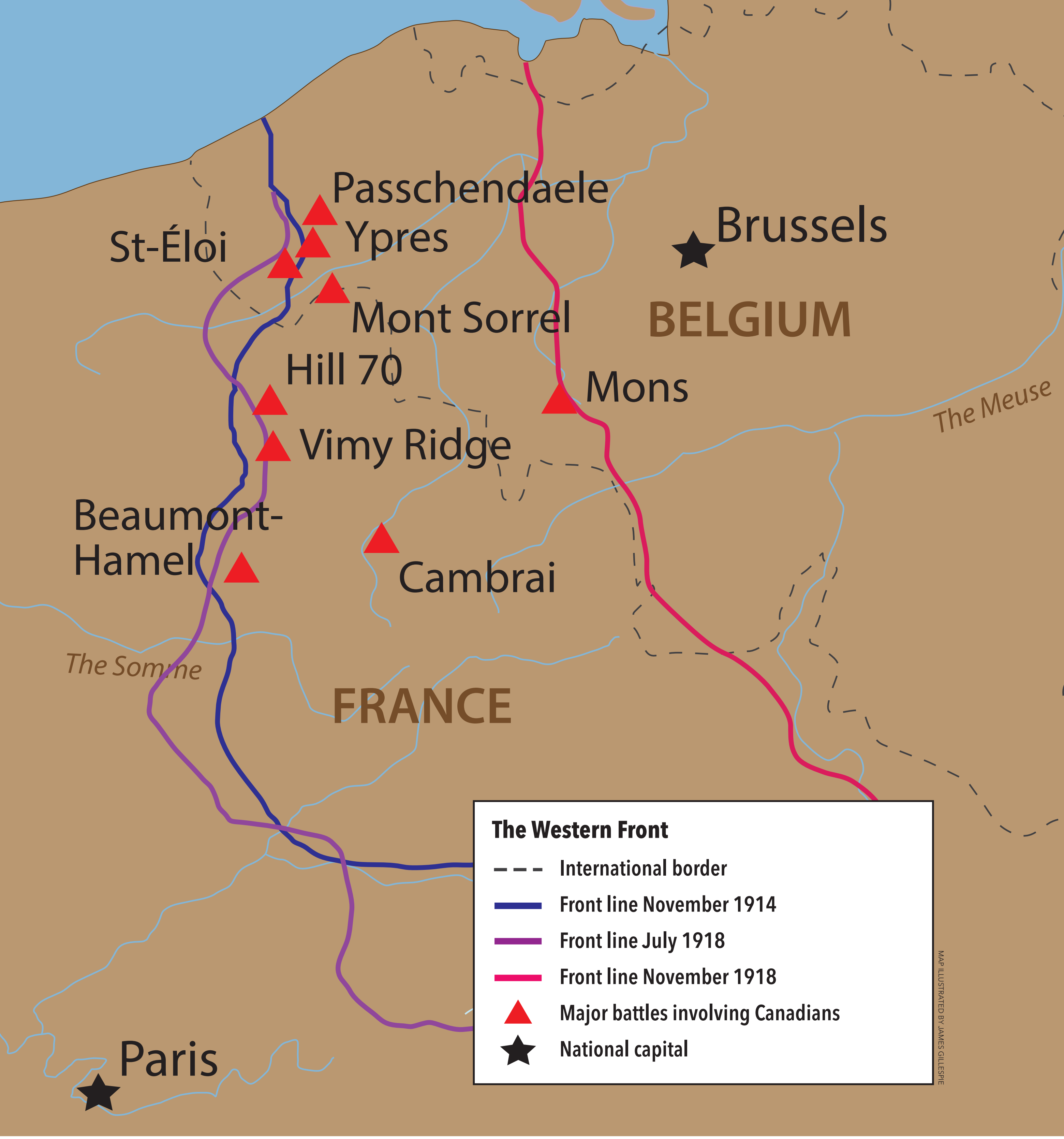
WAR DECLARED

When Britain declares war, all of its colonies and dominions, including Canada, are automatically drawn in to the conflict.

APRIL 22, 1915

SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

In Canada's first major battle, soldiers hold the line while facing the first use of chlorine gas as a battlefield weapon.


Passchendaele
Ypres
St-Éloi
Brussels
Mont Sorrel
BELGIUM
Hill 70
Mons
The Meuse
Vimy Ridge
Beaumont-Hamel
Cambrai
The Somme
FRANCE
Paris
The Western Front
International border
Front line November 1914
Front line July 1918
Front line November 1918
Major battles involving Canadians
National capital

MAP ILLUSTRATED BY JAMES GILLESPIE

JULY 1, 1916

BEAUMONT-HAMEL

The Newfoundland Regiment suffers a devastating loss — of 801 soldiers, 324 are dead or missing and 386 are wounded.

APRIL 9 TO 12, 1917

BATTLE OF VIMY RIDGE

The Canadians capture the German-held strongpoint. The victory becomes a symbol of Canadian identity.

OCT. 26 TO NOV. 10, 1917

SECOND BATTLE OF PASSCHENDAELE

The Canadians fight in horribly muddy conditions, suffering sixteen thousand casualties.

AUG. 8 TO NOV. 11, 1918

THE HUNDRED DAYS

Canadians play a key role in a series of battles that drive back and defeat German forces, leading to the armistice on November 11.

JUNE 28, 1919

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Canada is a signatory to the controversial treaty that forces Germany to disarm, concede territory, and pay reparations.

Crowds in London, England, celebrate the end of the First World War in 1918.

A MANY-LAYERED LEGACY

CANADA'S FIRST WORLD WAR EXPERIENCE SHAPED OUR COUNTRY IN PROFOUND WAYS.

By Tim Cook

BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

While the guns fell silent on the Western Front at eleven o'clock on November 11, 1918, the echo of the war's long scream has reverberated to the present. One hundred years later, we can still see the First World War's legacy throughout Canadian society.

No Canadian went to war in August 1914 in order to see Canada step out of Britain's shadow, for the government to enact income tax or to enfranchise women, to drive for an emerging Canadian identity, or for one of the many other outcomes that occurred during or after the four long years of conflict. Yet those legacies and more can be traced back to the war, which, like most conflicts, had unintended consequences. The war that is expected is rarely the one that is experienced.

To examine the legacy of the war is to untangle many contradictions, including the unity and division it produced, along with intense feelings of patriotism and loss. There is a complexity that must be acknowledged in any attempt to unravel the intertwined threads of consequences.

The legacy of Canada's Great War has affected the very social fabric of the country as well as what it means to be Canadian.

Wartime Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden wrote in his diary on November 11, 1918, “The world has drifted from its old anchorage and no man can with certainty prophesy what the outcome will be.” By the conflict’s end Canada was indeed forever changed by the struggle and strain, and, over the last century, the country and its people have grappled to make sense of the war’s long reach.

The First World War was the largest, most intricate, and most witheringly difficult thing the young country Canada had done up to that point. The Dominion was mobilized for a war overseas in August 1914, when it had neither any wartime industry nor an army from which to draw, other than three thousand professional soldiers. Yet in rapid time Canadians were roused to the urgency, as the overseas war of attrition demanded an all-encompassing, ultimately nearly unlimited, war effort. In the end, more than 630,000 men enlisted or were conscripted — about one in three adult males — along with several thousand women serving as nurses or as medical assistants known as VADs for the British Voluntary Aid Detachment in which they served.

Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden addresses Canadian troops at a training camp in Seaford, England, in August 1918.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

BORDEN PROMISED CONSCRIPTION. THE VIOLENT POLITICAL DEBATE THAT FOLLOWED PITTED ENGLISH AGAINST FRENCH BUT ALSO FARMERS AGAINST THOSE IN THE CITIES.

The Canadian Corps on the Western Front, one hundred thousand strong by the end of 1916, fought within the British overseas armies, but it had its own symbols, such as the maple leaf, its own identifiable units, its own officers, and, later in the war, its own senior commander.

The corps earned a fierce reputation, starting with the defence against overwhelming German forces and chlorine gas at the Battle of Second Ypres in Belgium in April 1915; fighting hard at the battles of Mount Sorrel in Belgium and the Somme in France in 1916; and in the string of victories, first in France at Vimy Ridge in April 1917, and at Hill 70 in August, followed by Passchendaele in Belgium at the end of that year.

The Hundred Days campaign, starting in August 1918, saw the Canadian Corps spearhead crucial battles at Amiens, Arras, Cambrai, and Valenciennes in France, and at Mons, Belgium. Throughout the war, the Canadians paid a terrible price for being acknowledged shock troops, thrown into battle after battle as an attack formation, with eventually some sixty-six thousand Canadians being killed or dying of their wounds.

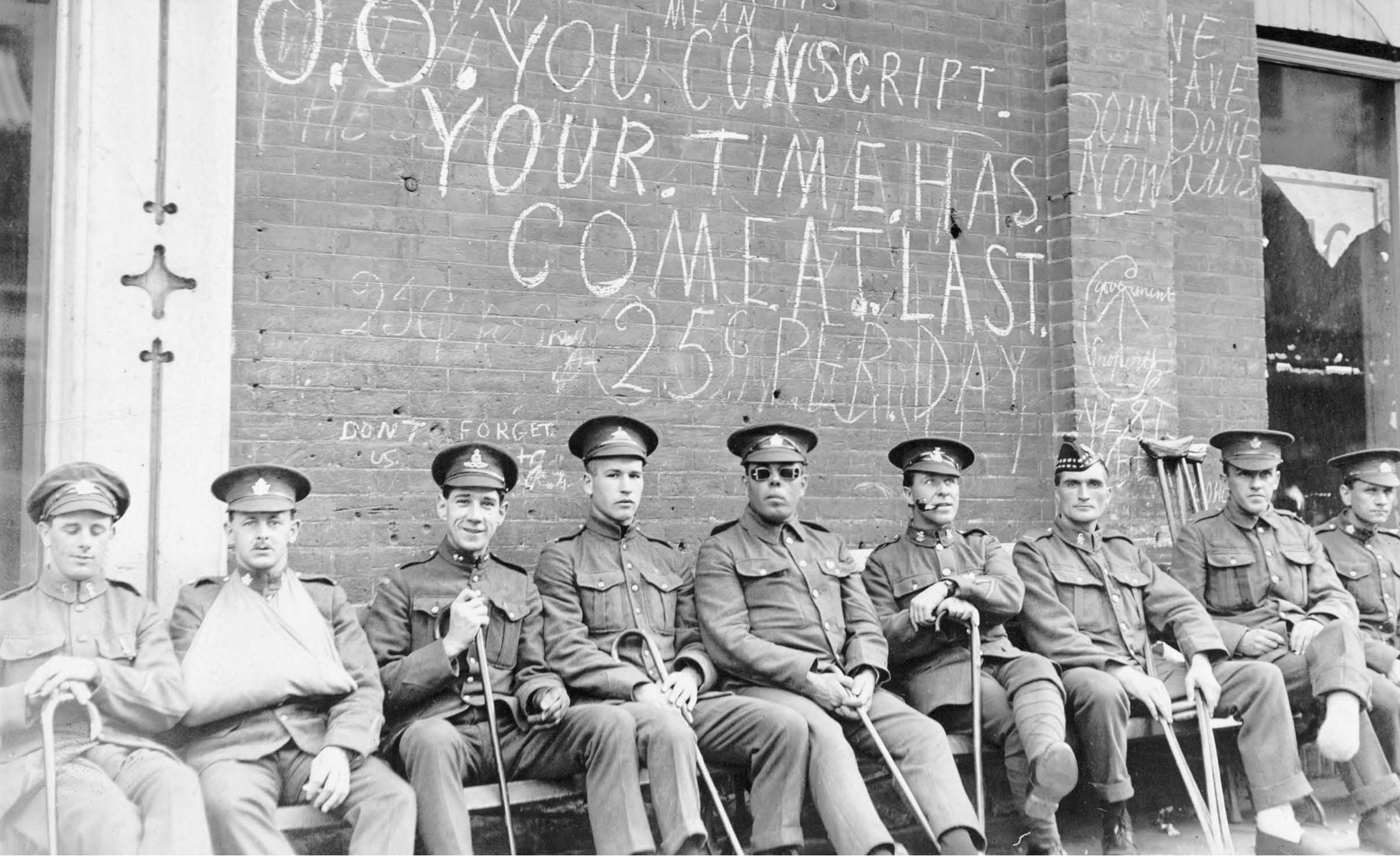
While much of the country’s focus was on raising an overseas force for combat on the Western Front, Canadians also supported the war effort from home. In the Dominion of about eight million people, there were no munitions factories before August 1914; but the need to feed the maw of war led to some 250,000 Canadians entering the workforce in hundreds of new companies. By 1917, more than a quarter of all shells fired by the British forces on the Western Front were made in Canada. Equally important was food production, with farmers sending hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat and other supplies to Britain, an absolutely vital aspect of Canada’s war effort.

But with no end to the demands for men and *matériel*, the country was pushed to the brink. When voluntary recruiting failed to bring in enough soldiers by late 1916, Borden was pressured to enact conscription, as Britain had done. He worried about the effect on unity, but his heart was with the soldiers overseas, many of whom he visited in hospitals. Young boys and men tried to stand or even to sit up to greet him, their broken bodies an indication of the awfulness of industrial warfare. Borden was outraged to learn that the shortages of soldiers required that they be sent back to the line, sometimes before they had even healed.

In May 1917, Borden promised conscription. The violent political debate that followed pitted English against French but also farmers against those in the cities and organized labour against those who owned the means of production. In a war where Canadians came together like never before in supporting the soldiers, or in patriotic war-related work, the pressure of the war also exposed old fault lines and created new ones.

One of the greatest symbols of both unity and disunity was Canada’s vast army of the fallen. Across Canada, but not uniformly dispersed, tens of thousands of official death notices brought news of grief, in staid government language, stating that a loved one had been killed or lost to battle. Parents exchanged sons for Memorial Cross medals. The legacy of pain lay like a shroud across the country.

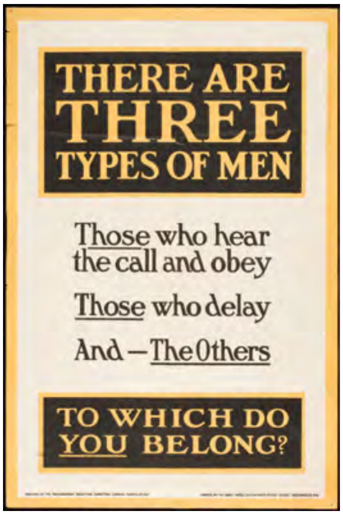
And yet the Spanish flu of 1918 and 1919 was almost as


O.O. YOU. CONSCRIPT.
YOUR. TIME. HAS.
COME. AT. LAST.
25¢ PER DAY
DON'T FORGET US.
JOIN NOW
WE HAVE DONE

Soldiers wounded in the war sit under a scrawled conscription message in Toronto circa 1916–17.

devastating as the four-year-long war, with the number of deaths coming in a shorter time period. Why did Canadians erect thousands of monuments and memorials to the First World War fallen and almost nothing for the flu victims?

One reason must be the immense tragedy of the war and its deep well of loss. The act of sending Canadians off to serve and to disappear in the muck of the Somme or Passchendaele continues to haunt, its emotional power seemingly far beyond that of the devastating flu. There is something about the First World War that lingers, and maybe it has to do with the excitement and pride of the war effort giving way to sorrow at the unending casualties, the shock of the war's length and trauma, and perhaps that of the young killing the young on foreign fields. It is also the tremendous legacy of that loss that feeds a strong emotional response that has not been easy for Canadians to put to rest.


THERE ARE
THREE
TYPES OF MEN

Those who hear the call and obey

Those who delay

And — The Others

TO WHICH DO YOU BELONG?

A recruiting poster admonishes men who have not joined the armed forces, circa 1914–18.

ABOVE: CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES BELOW: GLENBOW ARCHIVES

The absence of the bodies is another factor contributing to the war's troubling legacy. Most of the fallen were buried overseas in Commonwealth War Graves Commission cemeteries; or, in the case of the almost twenty thousand with no known graves because their bodies were lost or destroyed, their names are inscribed on the Menin Gate in Ypres and the Vimy monument in France. These vast cemeteries and overseas monuments remain poignant symbols of loss and anguish, and yet they are also sources of pride and memory making. In commissioning a national war memorial in 1925, the federal government instructed that the designer should capture the "spirit of heroism … exemplified in the lives of those who sacrificed."

The grouping of the war dead, as opposed to the flu victims who are spread throughout almost every community in Canada, also plays a role in focusing the enduring sorrow. The overseas cemeteries are compelling silent legacies that bear witness to lives cut short, with the sheer number of graves offering some quantification of the staggering losses. These sites of mourning draw Canadians to them every year; but those who go must make a conscious choice and travel great distances, all the while anticipating a rendezvous with the lost Canadians who are always lying in wait.

The survivors sought meaning in the war and especially looked for a sense of closure. In the early 1920s, Canadians turned to ennobling the fallen. They were Christ-like figures who had sacrificed for oppressed peoples and who died in the defence of liberal ideas of freedom. This veneration of the dead

Top: Nursing sisters and convalescing soldiers pose outside a tent at No. 2 Canadian General Hospital, Le Tréport, France in 1917.

Right: Mrs. C.S. Woods of Winnipeg represented Silver Star Mothers of Canada at the unveiling of the Vimy Memorial in 1936. She had twelve sons who fought in the war, of whom five were killed.

helped some of the grieving families and communities to heal. And there was solidarity in grief. The fallen were not allowed simply to disappear. Commemorative plaques for schools and businesses, the naming of geographic places and memorial structures, stained-glass windows, and reflective books were just some of the means to mark the war's dead.

In communities across the country, citizens built empty sepulchres and memorials, many of which bear the names of the fallen, to embody their lost bodies. These local monuments were called cenotaphs from the Greek for "empty tomb." Several thousand in number, they became focal points for the survivors to come together to pay their respects on Armistice Day, or, after 1931, Remembrance Day. The monuments and Remembrance Day are still with us and, along with the poppy and two minutes of silence, are important icons of loss from a war that infuses the Canadian symbolic and geographic landscape.

The dead were sanctified, but it was more difficult to deal with the living. Some 173,000 soldiers and nurses were injured, and 138,000 were counted as wounded on the battlefield, although the latter number included double or triple wounds to the same person. Nonetheless, the number of maimed men was shockingly high, with about seven out of ten soldiers serving in France being wounded or killed.

The mass of broken men required state intervention to create a series of hospitals and treatment centres across the country. There were prosthetic-limb and glass-eye factories. Surgeons, doctors, nurses, and new specialists, such as massage therapists, all tried to ease these maimed men and women back into society. The resulting health care system was a crucial foundation of state medicine in Canada, and the war conditioned federal and provincial governments to accept responsibility for the care of the wounded and the large costs associated with it, a legacy still with us today.

The veterans, initially known as returned men, came back changed. Some of that change was for the better. The Khaki University, an army-run education program that drew teachers from the ranks and educated fifty thousand Canadian soldiers in the front lines and in reserve areas, taught hundreds of men who were illiterate to read and to write, while others received technical training or an opportunity to study at a British university.

There were also more visible physical changes, as most men put on seven to ten kilograms of weight during the course of the war from steady, starchy meals and regular exercise. Ironically, the war was good for the bodies of many who donned the uniform, and most soldiers became "dentally fit" during the war, with hundreds of thousands of men benefiting from improved teeth. These are war legacies that have been forgotten, but they surely mattered to individual men and their families. There were also negative long-term health factors, such as venereal disease, of which there were some sixty-six thousand recorded cases among Canadian soldiers during the war.

Veterans were a living legacy of the war — a new, large, and identifiable group of Canadians. There had been veterans in the past, some eight thousand from the South African War, for example, but now they were a force in society. Two would become prime ministers (John Diefenbaker and Lester Pearson), while many more were elected as Members of Parliament or became leaders in business, universities, and all manner of professions.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

General Sir Arthur Currie visits wounded Canadian veterans, date unknown.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

The veterans often banded together to influence the direction of the new Canada that emerged from the war. One of their immediate goals was to reverse the wartime abolition of alcohol that for many reformers was thought to be a permanent wartime legacy of good. Nellie McClung, who fought for women's enfranchisement and to ban alcohol, used wartime rhetoric in the battle against booze: "We despise the army of the Kaiser for dropping bombs on defenceless people, and shooting down women and children — we say it violates the laws of civilized warfare. The liquor traffic has waged war on women and children all down the centuries." Most soldiers did not agree, and almost all relied heavily on their rum ration in the trenches to help to endure the strain. Temperance seemed a permanent legacy of the war, but it did not last long, with veterans in the lead for bringing back alcohol. Veterans were less concerned with addressing the adoption of daylight saving time, another wartime legacy, to improve farming productivity, that is still in effect today in most of Canada.

"Friends wanted to hear glorious stories of the battlefield," recounted Pierre van Paassen, a soldier who later became a journalist, "and you felt like vomiting when the subject was mentioned."

Unable to find words to share conflicted feelings, veterans banded together to find solace in one another and to soothe invisible wounds. They often only found comfort in the company of those who had been through the war. Countless veterans battled to overcome the conflict that had imprinted itself on their minds and amputated some aspects of their inner selves.

There were about nine thousand recorded cases of shell shock during the war, along with unknown thousands of additional men who went uncounted. Long before medical authorities had agreed upon a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder, the embryonic medical system for veterans offered help in some cases. But too often men were shunted to the periphery and labelled "burnouts."

Thousands of returned men never found a way to cope with the war as they struggled with their physical and mental wounds. Sir Arthur Currie, the final Canadian Corps commander, who himself endured what we would now call post-traumatic stress disorder, believed that the "health of almost everyone who served throughout the war was, to some extent, adversely affected…. It might be difficult to say that a [later] affection of the lungs, or heart or nerves is unquestionably attributable to war service, yet a man would have to be superhumanly wise to say it was not."

Canada's History gift subscriptions as low as $27.95

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON
GIVE THE GREATEST GIFT IN
HISTORY

SOLDIER OF MISFORTUNE | FIRST NATIONS RIGHTS FIGHT | ROMA IN CANADA
CANADA'S HISTORY
FORMERLY THE BEAVER
PLUS SUMMER READING GUIDE
FIRST FLIGHT
THE DARING STORY OF CANADA'S FIRST WOMAN PILOT
CANADA'S HISTORY
INSIDE HALIFAX EXPLOSION: 100 YEARS LATER
FORMERLY THE BEAVER
TRAINS
CANADA'S ICONIC ENGINES
2017 BOOK & GIFT GUIDE
CLEANING UP THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
METIS MATRIARCHS
PIONEER MEMORIES
Kayak
Canada's History Magazine for Kids
AT HOME
REMEMBERING AFRICVILLE
CITIES ARE FOR PEOPLE

SAVE
OVER 40% OFF
THE COVER
PRICE

Share our remarkable past with gift subscriptions to *Canada's History* and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*

DON'T WAIT, ORDER TODAY!

Mail in the order card
Call **1-888-816-0997**
Order online at **CanadasHistory.ca**

Kayak Canada's History Magazine for Kids

Award-winning magazines for family and friends of all ages!

CANADA'S HISTORY

Violence was all too common in the veterans' postwar lives, with many frustrated warriors abusing alcohol as a form of self-medication. Loved ones sought to pierce the shield of silence, usually unsuccessfully. Sometimes the men recovered and found ways to go forward; sometimes they lived in lifelong isolation or ended the pain through suicide. This particular legacy of the war is especially difficult to assess; these men were often lost to the medical system, and their fate is known only to their families.

And yet, while shell shock and the lingering effects of the war became a prevailing trope for understanding the carnage of the Western Front as well as a metaphor used by writers, filmmakers, and playwrights ever since as a symbol of the horror of war, it appears that most veterans came back physically healthy and mentally fit. They returned to their loved ones and tried to get on with their lives.

REINTEGRATION WAS NEVER EASY, EVEN FOR THE ABLE-BODIED AND UNTRAUMATIZED, AND THE CANADIAN STATE COULD NOT ASSIST ALL VETERANS.

But reintegration was never easy, even for the able-bodied and untraumatized, and the Canadian state could not assist all veterans. There were too many men and not enough jobs in 1919, as the country stumbled slowly from war production to manufacturing goods for peacetime. Preferential hiring in the civil service created jobs for some twenty-six thousand veterans, although it was not enough. Relatively generous pensions — far superior to those available in war-poor Britain or bankrupt Germany — were issued to the wounded, with some seventy-seven thousand veterans receiving payments in the early 1930s. But there were few veterans with an amputated leg, a blinded eye, or an even worse wound who felt they had received a square deal from Ottawa.

"That terrible restlessness which possesses us like an evil spirit," wrote veteran George Pearson, made it difficult for returned men to settle down in their previous jobs. Many sought open spaces and freedom from hierarchy. One thing the state could do was to provide cheap farmland and low-interest loans, which it did for 24,709 veterans. About a third of the land was expropriated from First Nations, and much of it was rocky and unsuitable for growing crops. With inflated wartime food prices dropping in the postwar years, many of these new farmers' dreams were destroyed as they faced back-breaking work for barely break-even yields. About half of the veterans' farms went bankrupt within a decade. The land appropriated from Indigenous people and the hard lives of veterans-turned-farmers were grim legacies of the government's fumbling attempt to aid the returned men.

The one positive result was that planners and politicians during the Second World War — pushed by First World War veterans — learned from these errors and instigated a far more forward-thinking series of plans to reintegrate service personnel in 1945 back into society via what was known as the Veterans Charter. That sweeping set of programs contributed significantly to decades of prosperity in Canada.

There was no thought of how to pay for the war effort when Canada entered the fray in August 1914, but war is not cheap. By 1918, Canada had a titanic debt of some three billion dollars, and one of the money pits was the nationalization of several failing railways. These railways, amalgamated under Canadian National in 1919, were seen as too big to fail, even though, as one historian wrote, investigations into nearly bankrupt companies revealed "a shocking recital of fraud, duplicity, collusion, incompetence, and mismanagement." They were a financial drain for many years, until the most profitable of the lines were finally determined through market forces, becoming yet another wartime legacy that's still with us.

The state also intervened in June 1916 to create of a series of government-led research groups that would form the foundation for the future National Research Council. To this day the NRC continues to create world-class research and technology.

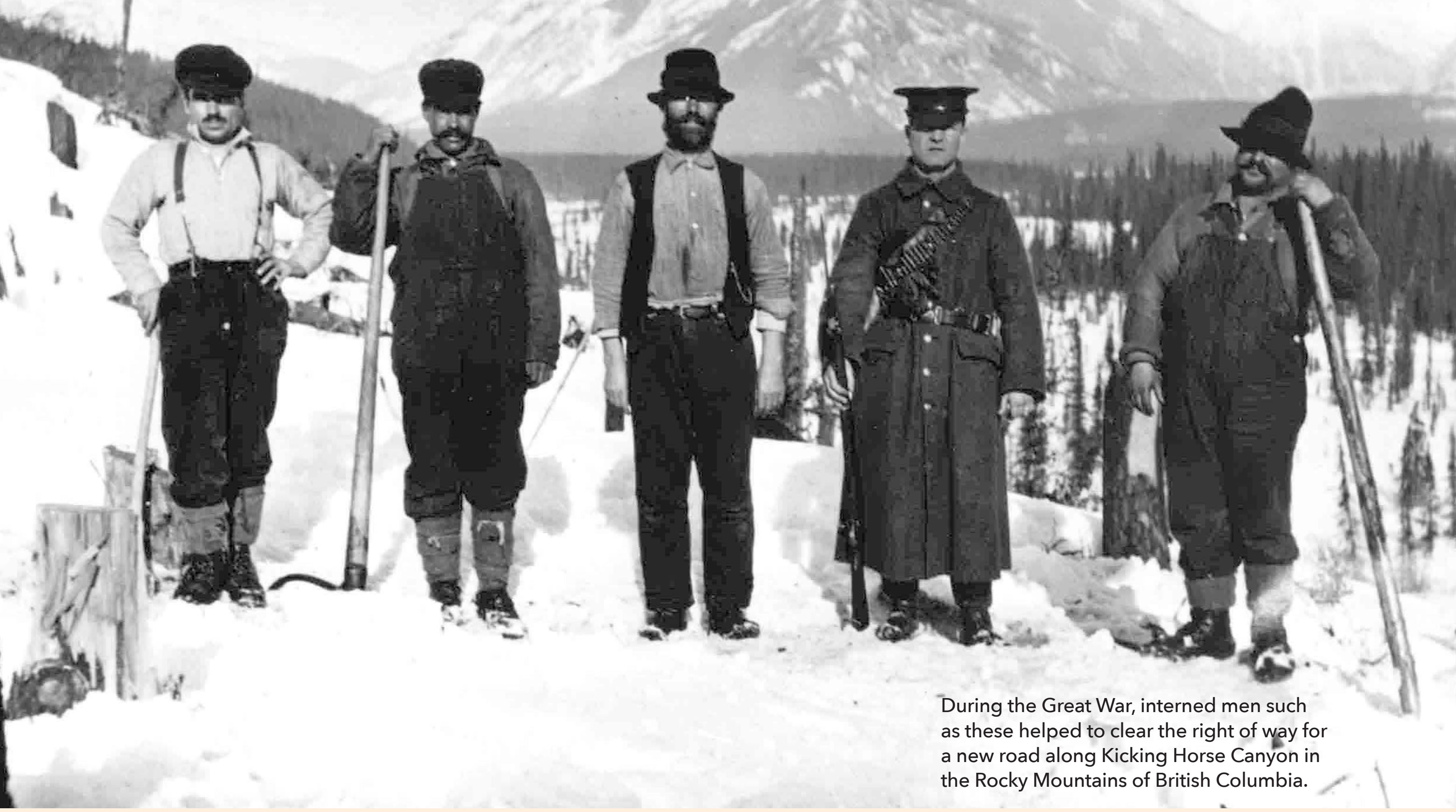
There were other wartime financial legacies, including a seismic shift away from British markets, with London no longer serving in its traditional role as Canada's financier. To pay for the rapidly escalating costs of the war, the government was forced to go cap in hand to Washington to borrow hundreds of millions of dollars.

The Americans, neutral in the war up to April 1917, charged ungenerous interest rates on these huge loans, but at least Canadians held a large part of the debt through war bonds. Desperate for more money, Ottawa introduced income tax in 1916 for businesses and then, the next year, for individuals. The new tax did not amount to much during the war, but the government did not relinquish this power after the armistice.

The war galvanized Canadians like never before, but they also turned on one another in the crusade to defeat Germany. During the high tensions of the early war years, when there were wild rumours of German-American cross-border invasions and several acts of sabotage by German agents or sympathizers that included the assassination of Canadian soldiers, anxious Canadians looked for enemies in their midst.

German Canadians were assaulted, forced from jobs, and had their businesses boycotted or burned down. Many thousands changed their names to avoid persecution, thereby erasing thousands of German names between the 1911 and 1921 censuses. In 1916, Berlin, Ontario, changed its name to Kitchener, in honour of the British War Minister Lord Kitchener, to avoid conflict.

Hyper-vigilant Canadians also turned on Austro-Hungarian immigrants, who, like German Canadians, were labelled enemy aliens because the British Empire was at war with Austria-Hungary. Close to nine thousand people were interned in two dozen isolated camps across the country, a little more than a third of them classified as prisoners of war. The majority of civilian internees were Ukrainians.



During the Great War, interned men such as these helped to clear the right of way for a new road along Kicking Horse Canyon in the Rocky Mountains of British Columbia.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

CANADA'S PRISONERS

Shortly after Canada entered the First World War on August 4, 1914, the federal government introduced the *War Measures Act*.

Its sweeping powers suspended civil liberties in the interest of protecting the country, including through the internment of enemy aliens.

Anyone who resided in Canada but was a citizen of a state legally at war with Canada was classified as an "enemy alien." This designation included immigrants from Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Of the 8,579 men interned during the First World War, 5,000 were Ukrainian.

Just over three thousand of the internees were considered prisoners of war; the rest were civilians. In addition, eighty-one women and 156 children were voluntarily interned.

These policies of the *War Measures Act* encouraged xenophobic views towards immigrants, primarily those from Eastern Europe.

Internees were held in twenty-four receiving stations and internment camps across Canada from 1914 until as late as 1920. They worked labour-intensive jobs in the logging industry, steel mills, and mines in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia.

Work camps were also set up in several national parks, where internees built roads, bridges, highways, and other development projects to make Banff, Jasper, Mount Revelstoke, and Yoho National Parks more accessible. The national parks camps were closed in 1916.

Though people of many nationalities were affected by the internment policies enacted under the *War Measures Act*, Ukrainians were by far the largest population to feel its impact.

After years of lobbying, in 2005 Bill C-331 was passed to recognize "the injustice that was done to persons of Ukrainian descent and other Europeans who were interned at the time of the First World War."

The restitution from this bill has allowed for public commemoration and education on the history of interned citizens. — *Alison Nagy*

Some families were torn apart, while in other cases wives and children accompanied men to the remote camps where the internees engaged in manual labour for a mere twenty-five cents a day. While most Ukrainians were released before the armistice, several of the internees were shot trying to escape, and others had their health irrevocably damaged. Some eighty thousand other people were tracked by the state and forced to carry identification papers, while some fifty thousand Canadians, those labelled enemy aliens, were disenfranchised before the December 1917 federal election.

These acts, especially the internment, led to deep and lasting scars in the Ukrainian community, something that was formally acknowledged in 2005 by a government apology and a few years later by an endowment to fund educational or commemorative projects that explore the painful acts committed during the war years.

The state's harsh treatment of potential dissenters also extended to organized labour, with the government often breaking strikes by using its powers under the *War Measures Act*. Farmers, too, felt ignored by the two federal parties, especially in April 1918 when the government broke its promise to exempt farmers' sons from overseas service. "We as farmers are downtrodden by every other class," remarked a bitter delegate to the United Farmers of Alberta convention during the war. "We will organize for our protection." Across the country the betrayed farmers banded together and built upon existing farmers parties or created new ones, sometimes with additional elements from the labour movement. These new parties touched a chord, with the United Farmers of Ontario winning that province's election in 1919.

At the federal level, a new third party, the Progressives, with little organization but riding a wave of anger, sent sixty-four members to the House of Commons in the 1921 federal election and formed the official opposition. Because of their demands for change, the new Liberal prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, called them "Liberals in a hurry," but he found ways to work with members of the new party during the first half of the decade.

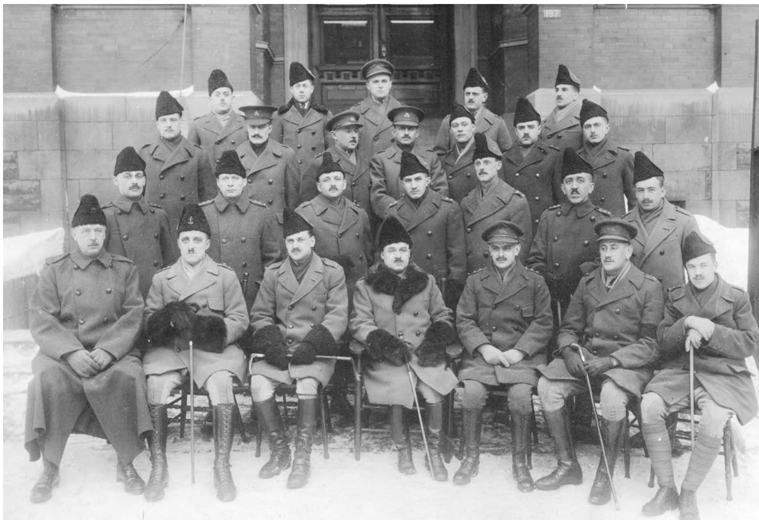
The Progressives and others would later give birth to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in 1932, which became the New Democratic Party in 1961. The war's legacy of alienation of Westerners, farmers, French Canada, and labour led to the creation of new parties and movements, and it continues to inform modern politics.

No Canadians were more angered by the war than the people of Quebec. French Canadians both within and outside the province did not feel the pull of Empire that was so powerful with their anglophone compatriots, and while some French-speakers were motivated to aid France, and tens of thousands fought for Canada, the Quebec clergy in local parishes was against the war.

When the casualties came by the thousands, they fell most heavily on English Canada, resulting in old grievances being stirred and the creation of new animosities. Quebec was singled out in the media and by the hyper-patriotic for not doing its part in the war. French Canada was an easy target in the narrow assessment that looked only at manpower and that ignored the crucial role of farm production. In 1916, Ottawa newspaper *Le Droit* expressed anger over language rights and the growing attacks against French Canada, asking, "Of what use is it for us to fight Prussianism and barbarity [overseas] when the same conditions exist at home?"

The act of conscripting young men for overseas service was divisive across the country, but it was felt most deeply in Quebec. Widespread protests centred in Montreal flared up throughout the summer of 1917, bringing thousands to the street every night to hear fiery orators who proclaimed the need for resistance, while those on the fringe raved about the coming insurrection and even the assassination of Prime Minister Borden.

This public unrest lay dormant over the winter, but on Easter weekend of 1918 in Quebec City, after several nights of rioting brought on by the arrest of French Canadians who were not carrying their conscription-exemption cards, English-Canadian militia units were rushed to the volatile city. Starting on March 28, 1918, thousands of anti-conscription protesters roamed the streets, breaking windows and setting fire to federal build-


French-Canadian officers in Canada in 1918.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

FRENCH CANADA AND THE WAR

When the Great War erupted in August 1914, Canadians of British descent led the charge to enlist. For French Canadians, reaction to the war was more muted, and there was a general reluctance to embrace what was seen as a European conflict.

By 1917, debates over forced enlistment had led to protests in the streets in Quebec, while in Parliament the politics of conscription was cleaving party loyalties and creating lasting impacts on the political landscape.

However, the notion that French Canadians did not serve in the war is a myth. The most famous French-speaking regiment of the war was the 22nd (French Canadian) Battalion, authorized in autumn 1914. Two members of the 22nd received the Victoria Cross, and the regiment fought at many key battles, including Mount Sorrel, the Somme, Vimy Ridge, Hill 70, and Cambrai. Recent research by historians has revealed that a significant number of French Canadians also volunteered to fight, rather than waiting to be conscripted; however, due to anti-war sentiment in Quebec, these men generally did not discuss their experiences to the same extent as English-Canadian veterans. — *Mark Reid*

ings. On April 1, after the sun set, another large crowd faced off with the armed militia. Insults were traded back and forth, and matters degenerated rapidly when a handful of French-Canadian agitators, hiding in the crowd of thousands, or stationed on rooftops, fired on the militiamen. The riot act was read to disperse the crowd, and then the militia opened fire. When the shooting stopped, four Quebecers lay dead, and one hundred more were wounded.

"Many will come to Quebec to visit the spot where it occurred, to see the places where the machine guns were laid on the mob and to see the streets where the men fell," proclaimed one Quebec Member of Parliament in the aftermath of the killings.

"We Quebecers who live there will constantly have a remembrance of the disgrace that took place." The legacy of the martyred dead in Quebec City and of the violent reaction to conscription lived on long past the war, a memory that overshadowed the sacrifices of many thousands of French Canadians who had served king and country and the many more who worked in factories or farms in support of the war effort.

The fragile unity of Confederation, of compromise and conciliation between English and French, as uneasy as it sometimes was, had been irrevocably shaken in 1917 as the English majority ran roughshod over the French, followed by the tragic shootings in the last year of the war.

The story of the war in Quebec, especially after the rise of the Quebec independence movement in the 1960s, was invoked very differently from the story told in English Canada, which saw the war as an event that transformed the country, moving it from a colony to status as a full nation.

In Quebec, the war's legacy was as a malignant force that had unleashed terrible passions and had led to humiliating oppression.

RED
CIETY
ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSN.
LOAD NOT TO EXCEED.
1 DRIVER, 1 ATTENDANT, & 8 PATIENTS.
Bought by Funds Collected in SIND,
Per Lieut. Colonel C. Anderson.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Female crew members service a St. John Ambulance Association vehicle near No. 2 Canadian General Hospital, Le Tréport, France, in 1917.

The roles of women in society were also fundamentally changed by the war. During the conflict, most of the patriotic organizations were organized by women, who also carried out the work. These organizations raised some fifty million dollars in donations, along with another fifty million raised by the Canadian Patriotic Fund — a group formed by the country's political and business elite but largely run by middle-class women — to care for soldiers' dependants. This work led to a massive change in the giving habits of Canadians.

In the war years women entered the workforce to replace the young men who went overseas, but most lost their jobs upon the soldiers' return in 1919. Historians have attempted to untangle the impact of the war on women, with some suggesting that there were few long-term effects. However, a revealing 1994 National Film Board production, *And We Knew How to Dance*, explored the story of a dozen women and offered another view. The interviewees, aged 86 to 101, revealed tremendous pride in contributions they had undertaken even as they dealt with gender discrimination and fended off sexual advances from male managers. They testified that they felt their wartime efforts had helped to ease the way for future social change.

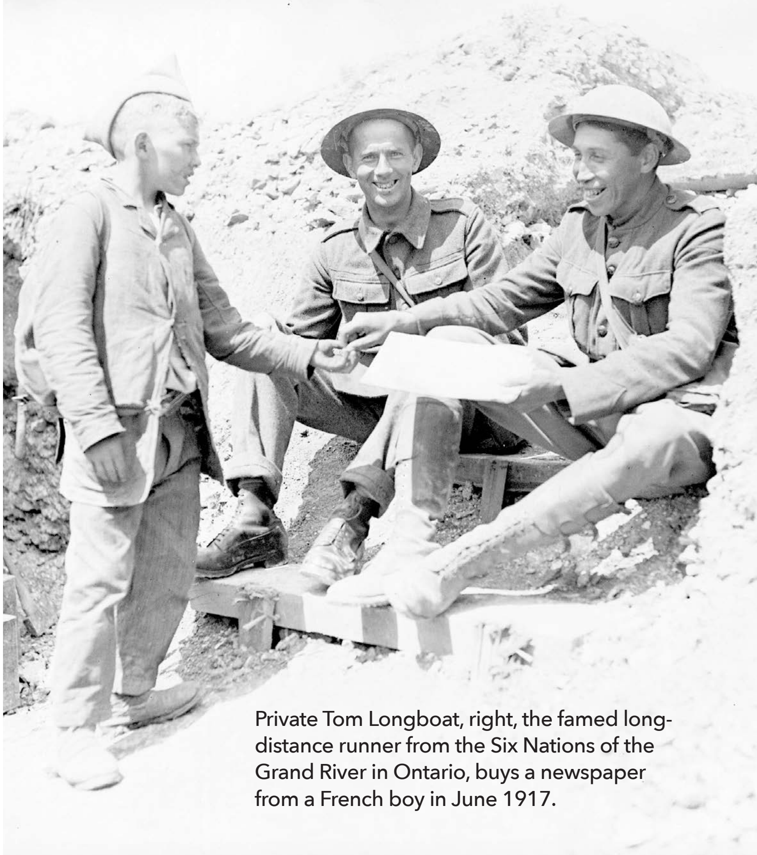
Munitions worker Willa Marshall believed that "the women showed that they could do something outside of the house, which gave them power." While not all women would have echoed Marshall, one wonders how many of them passed on the newfound independence gained from working in munitions factories or as an ambulance driver to their daughters, who would further break down gender barriers in the Second World War, serving both in uniform and in wartime industries?

One undeniable wartime legacy was enfranchisement, an act that came as a reward to women who allowed, even pressured, sons and husbands to go off to war. That it was the result of various federal and provincial governments brazenly seeking women's votes is true; and that it would certainly have come at some point is also true; but the vote was located in and associated with the war. While Indigenous women and some other visible minorities were denied the franchise, the majority of women were able to vote in most provinces and at the federal level by the end of the conflict. It would be a long road to full equality for women in Canada, with many battles ahead, but the First World War was an undeniable part of that process.

Another important if largely forgotten wartime legacy was grounded in the desire of many Canadians, led forcefully by women in the maternal health field, to save lives. Infant mortality was a scourge in Canada. Before the war, for instance, about one in four babies died before reaching their first birthdays in the fetid conditions of Montreal, and babies born during the war were many times more likely to die than a soldier in uniform.

These shocking deaths were exacerbated by poverty and by a poor understanding of hygiene, issues that were increasingly addressed after the war and that were sometimes coupled with the idea of regenerating or replacing the terrible losses of the war with a new generation of healthy babies. "If we are to be a great nation," exhorted Helen Reid, a wartime organizer and postwar reformer, "we must begin at the bases, the health of the nation, and see that we have healthy boys and girls born to be our

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



Private Tom Longboat, right, the famed long-distance runner from the Six Nations of the Grand River in Ontario, buys a newspaper from a French boy in June 1917.

INDIGENOUS SOLDIERS

Tom Longboat, an Onondaga man who became a world-champion long-distance runner, is perhaps the most widely known Indigenous person to serve in the First World War. However, thousands more Indigenous people served both overseas and on the home front.

4,000 **Official number of "Aboriginal" people who were members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Military records, however, didn't always indicate Indigenous status, and records did not indicate whether enlistees were First Nations, Inuit, or Métis, so the complete numbers are unknown.**

15 **The number of Inuit and Southern Inuit men known to have joined the Newfoundland Regiment.**

45,000 **Amount of money raised by Indigenous people in support of the war effort. Indigenous women also set up branches of the Red Cross and other patriotic organizations.**

1917 **The year a one-time franchise was given to Indigenous men serving in the military, to allow them to vote in a federal election without losing their "Indian status." – *Alison Nagy***

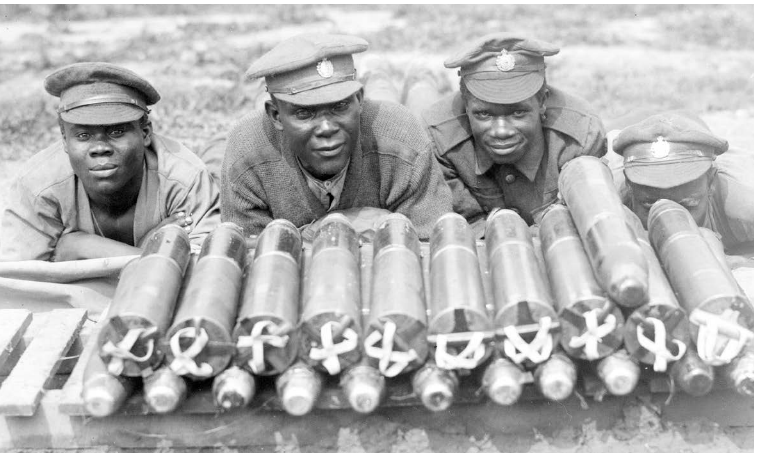
future citizens." More attention was afforded to the care of babies through domestic-science education programs and pasteurized milk. Countless babies survived past their first year to live full lives as a result of the reaction to the wanton destruction and loss of the Western Front.

The Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) was formed largely by white, English-speaking Canadians, but it also included thousands of visible minorities, new Canadians, and Indigenous Canadians, all fighting and dying together. The CEF required a remarkable act of coming together, especially in a country with deep divisions and equally deep prejudices. While the unity of the trenches did not last long in postwar Canada, new Canadians and Indigenous Canadians were all admitted to the Royal Canadian Legion, and bonds of camaraderie brought together those who had stood side by side in the trenches long into the postwar years.

While all veterans faced similar challenges, there were unique experiences. To take but two examples, Japanese Canadians and Indigenous Canadians returning from serving overseas had been treated as equals in the trenches by their white comrades but came back to a racist society that sought to deny them many basic rights of citizenship. Two hundred and twenty-two Japanese Canadians served during the war, and about a quarter of them were killed.

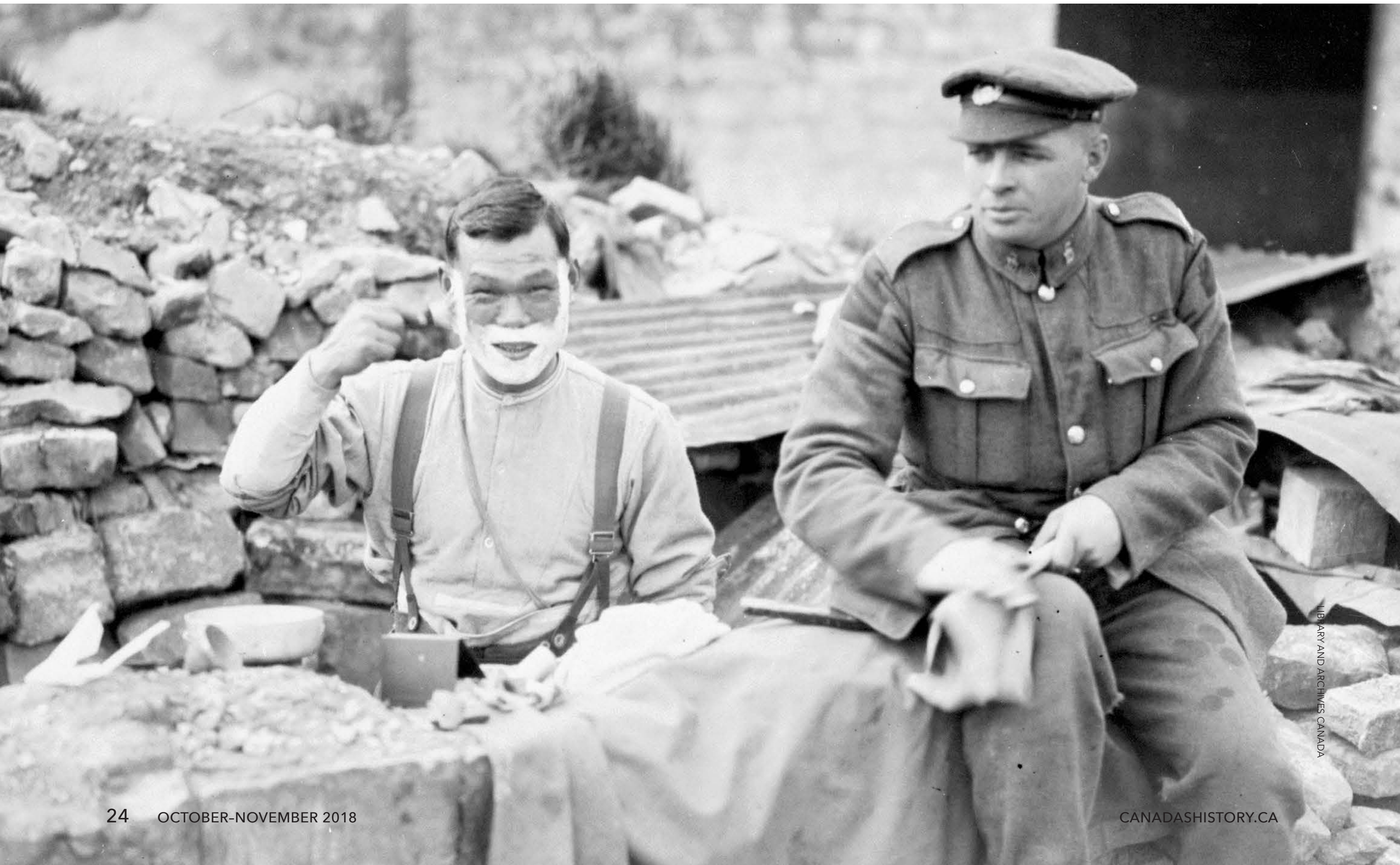
Some survivors banded together and used their war service to demand equality. After a long struggle, Japanese-Canadian veterans received the right to vote provincially in British Columbia, where most of them lived, in 1931. It would be almost two decades before other Japanese Canadians could vote in B.C., and this came about only after almost all of them had been forcibly relocated during the Second World War.

There were also several thousand Indigenous Canadians who served overseas during the First World War. Those who enlisted from their home communities on reserves were formal wards of the state. They had few rights in Canada, with



Left: Black Canadian soldiers take a break from loading Canadian Corps tramways with ammunition in July 1918.

Below: A Japanese-Canadian soldier, left, shaves outside a dugout during an advance east of Arras, France, in September 1918.



LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

money and land controlled by Indian agents, and they could not vote. Overseas they were allowed to vote in the 1917 federal election, their status as citizen-soldiers overcoming entrenched racism.

Many were empowered by their service, demanding change and greater rights when they came home. In 1919, Mohawk veteran Lieutenant Frederick Loft (Onondeyoh) started a movement, the League of Indians of Canada, to address long-time grievances. Loft sought to unite disparate Indigenous bands to work together and to free themselves “from the domination of officialdom and from being ever the prey and victims of unscrupulous means of depriving us of our lands and homes and even … the rights we are entitled to as free men under the British flag.” The Department of Indian Affairs and other federal bodies fiercely opposed Loft, especially over reforms to reserve lands. Yet, while veterans failed to create a national movement, the League underpinned future Indigenous groups that took up the same call for change, a fight that continues to this day.

CANADIANS RANKLED WHEN THEY WERE LUMPED IN WITH THE BRITISH, AND THERE WAS A FIERCE DEMAND FOR CANADIAN RECOGNITION

While postwar Canada churned from the immediate effects of the war, there were steady changes to how the country’s leaders tried to position Canada on the world stage. Few Canadians sought to break from the British Empire after the war, but the conflict sparked new feelings of independence. In charting Canada’s course forward, Loring Christie, Borden’s adviser in matters of foreign affairs, wrote that the war had won new recognition for the country. “Canada is not a colony, she is mistress of her own destiny. Canada is not a possession; the Canadian people and no one else are the owners of Canada.” A signature on the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 was an emblem of this strengthened autonomy, although Canada signed as part of the British Empire. Canada’s entry into the flawed League of Nations was also an important step forward in the country’s contribution to global diplomacy.

It fell to Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, who took power in 1921, to ease the country toward full control over its foreign policy. His first great challenge was in screwing up his courage to say no to the British during the Chanak Affair in 1922. Canadians were not interested in another war in a far-off land, and, while London expected Ottawa to contribute an expeditionary force to come to the aid of a threatened British military garrison in Turkey, a cautious King delayed until the crisis had passed, thereby avoiding, in his words, the imperialists dragging “Canada into the vortex of militarism.”

King built on this success by signing — independently of Britain — fishing-rights treaties with the United States and by strengthening Canada’s Department of External Affairs. These were part of the gradual evolution towards the *Statute of Westminster* in 1931, which ultimately provided control of foreign policy to the dominions. Canada was free to pursue its own diplomatic policies.

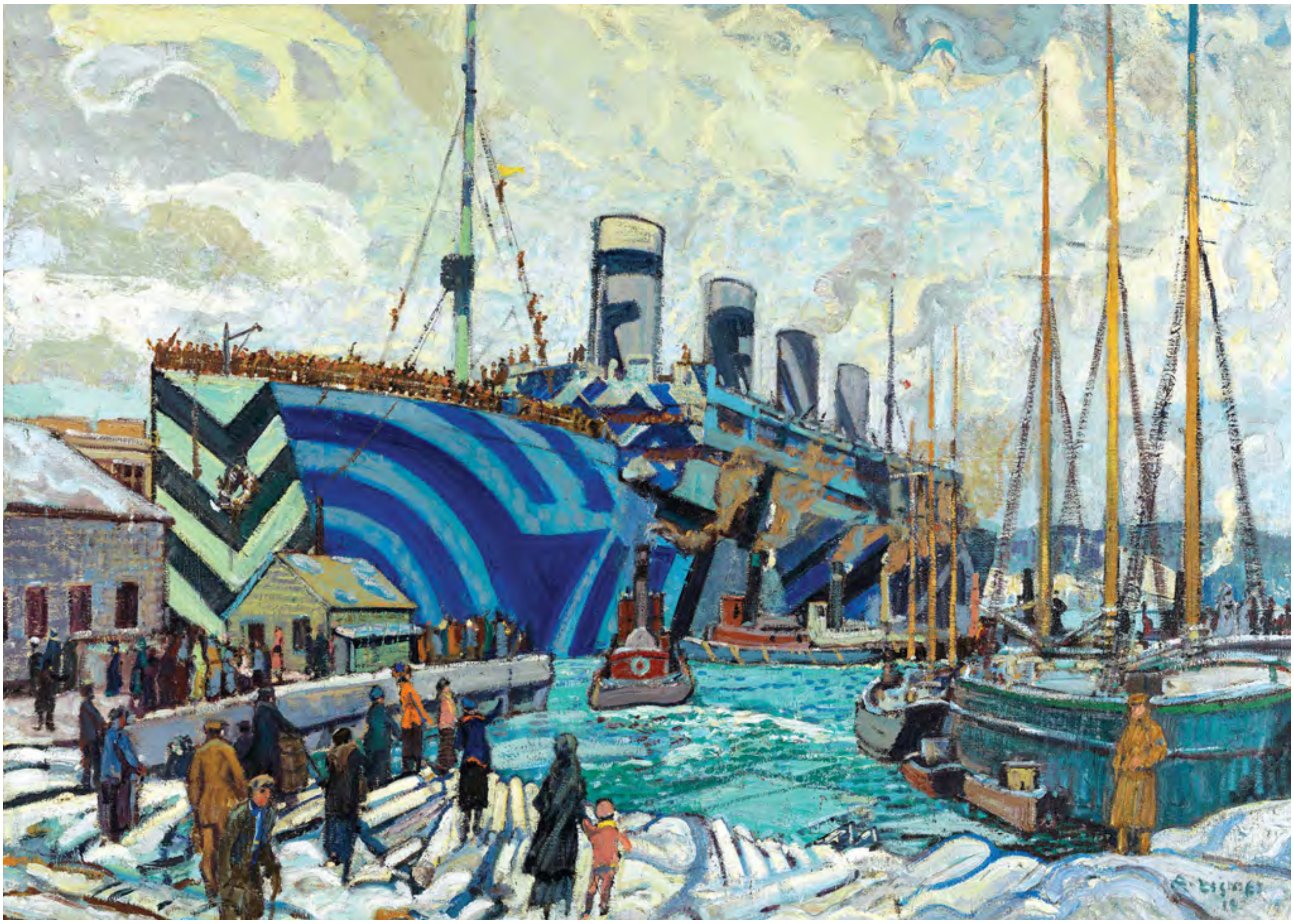
A strengthened Canadian culture and identity also emerged from a war that inspired survivors to write, paint, and mount plays that explored the experience. A.Y. Jackson, an official war painter during the war, spoke of the new confidence: “We are no longer humble colonials. We’ve made armies. We can also make artists, historians, and poets.” Canadian vaudeville groups like the Dumbells, created by soldiers who had served overseas, toured Canada for a decade after the war, while several members of the Group of Seven, including Jackson, had painted in an official wartime capacity. John McCrae’s “In Flanders Fields” resonated throughout the Empire, becoming the signature poem of the war and, afterwards, of the need to remember the sacrifice of the fallen.

New Canadian heroes were created: the nurses, the Victoria Cross recipients, and knights of the sky such as Billy Bishop. In French Canada, Thomas-Louis Tremblay, commander of the Van Doos, officer and diplomat Georges Vanier, and Victoria Cross recipient Jean Brillant were all celebrated. A well-honed publicity machine overseas — established by William Maxwell Aitken, Lord Beaverbrook, the expatriate Canadian millionaire — consisted of journalists and service personnel writing and publishing newspaper accounts, contemporary histories, illustrated magazines, and short film features, and disseminating these stories to Canadians and throughout the Empire.

Beaverbrook also sought to forge a historical legacy — in his words, “to lay down the bedrock of history.” By the summer of 1916, he established an official war art, photography, and film program to document Canadians’ war prowess. The Australians followed his wildly successful lead, and the British government of David Lloyd George elevated Beaverbrook to the role of minister of information in 1918 to raise awareness of the Empire’s war effort. The resulting art, photography, and film created a visual legacy for Canadians to know the war and to continually reimagine it to this day.

During and after the war, writers, historians, and artists emphasized the Canadian contributions as being different from those of the British. Symbols such as the maple leaf, identifiable Canadian units, and even Currie, as the final Canadian-born corps commander from June 1917 to the end of the war, became recognizable icons of Canadian uniqueness. W.L. Grant’s 1923 school textbook, *History of Canada*, proclaimed that the country’s wartime exertions had given “Canada forever her place among the nations of the world.”

Canadians rankled when they were lumped in with the British, and there was a fierce demand for Canadian recognition, which was particularly evident in the 1920s as patriotic, hyper-nationalist American publications and films claimed that the United States had won the war. Canadians were quick to point out that they had played a far greater battlefield role than



This painting by Arthur Lismer, future Group of Seven artist, depicts the arrival of the RMS *Olympic* in Halifax Harbour, Nova Scotia, December 14, 1918. The *Olympic*, a sister ship of the RMS *Titanic*, transported 200,000 returning soldiers between 1914 and 1919.

ARTHUR LISMER © BEAVERBROOK / CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM

the Johnny-come-lately Americans, even in 1918, the crucial year of victory. "America counted her profits," wrote one bitter Canadian, "while Canada buried her dead."

The Canadian war effort contributed significantly to the long process of English Canadians carving out an identity that was separate from the British, although other communities, such as Indigenous people, new Canadians, and French Canadians, drew from the war in different ways to strike their paths forward.

While the war profoundly changed Canada, it also destroyed Newfoundland as an independent nation. The proud, self-governing dominion went to war in August 1914, but Newfoundland had over-reached in its relentless contribution and was pushed to the brink. Some Newfoundlanders felt that their beloved Rock never recovered from the terrible losses at Beaumont-Hamel, Cambrai, and other key battles, not to mention the heavy debt that resulted from the war. By 1933, Newfoundland was not only bankrupt but also so unstable that it lost responsible government — the ability to govern itself — and Britain took over administration of the crown colony.

During the Second World War, Newfoundland became a crucial naval and sea base for the Battle of the Atlantic and the defence of North America, with American, British, and Canadian service personnel acting as friendly invaders and spending their considerable wealth freely. The two wars profoundly shaped the colony and moved it inexorably toward confederation with Canada in 1949. The considerable number of diehards who resented the loss of their country traced what they saw as the tragedy of Confederation back to the First World War. While Canada celebrated Dominion Day, later Canada Day, on July 1, that day is still a time for Newfoundlanders to mourn the men who were killed at the Battle of Beaumont-Hamel in 1916 and to contemplate the war's unintended legacy.

The echoes of the war reverberated through the second half of the century, and a new generation of Canadians discovered the Great War in the 1960s, often through sharp condemnations of the generals as portrayed in history books, films, plays, and even a resurgence of poetry. And yet, with the fiftieth anniversary of the First World War coinciding with the one hundredth anniversary of the country in 1967, the two nation-building anniversaries became conflated.

The war — and especially the Battle of Vimy Ridge, where Canada built its overseas national memorial — was elevated into a crucial signpost in the evolution of the country. In that formative year of 1967, it was Prime Minister Lester Pearson, himself a veteran of the war, who described Vimy as "the birth of the nation." It was not, but Vimy was a form of symbolic shorthand for the entire war effort and its profound legacy, which perhaps was felt even more deeply during the country's one hundredth anniversary as Canadians looked back on historical events that had transformed them as a people.

Over time, symbols such as Vimy or Beaumont-Hamel were pressed into national service, just as many French Canadians clung to conscription as a legacy of untrammelled English bullying. Toward the end of the twentieth century and into the start of the twenty-first, the war continued to inform Canada's cultural landscape, with generations of writers, playwrights, and filmmakers who did not directly experience the trauma of the trenches reinterpreting the war. Timothy Findley's novel *The Wars*, John Gray and Eric Peterson's play *Billy Bishop Goes to War*, Joseph Boyden's *Three Day Road*, and the film *Passchendaele* by Paul Gross, for example, all tackled the subject, illuminating the many ways it shaped generations of Canadians.

This re-engagement with and reimagining of the war started more forcefully in the 1970s, at the same time that large numbers of First World War veterans were succumbing to old age. By the end of the twentieth century, cemeteries on Canadian soil contained more veterans than the overseas burial grounds for those who lost their lives during the war.

In May 2000, Canada brought home the body of one of its unknown soldiers from his resting place near Vimy Ridge and interred him at the base of the national memorial in Ottawa. "Wars are as old as history," said Governor General Adrienne Clarkson in her eulogy. "Over two thousand years ago, Herodotus wrote: 'In peace, sons bury their fathers; in war, fathers bury their sons.' Today, we are gathered together as one, to bury someone's son. The only certainty about him is that he was young. If death is a debt we all must pay, he paid before he owed it."

The burial of one of Canada's own was a symbolic act that attracted widespread media attention and came at a time when Canadians were paying more attention to the country's veterans in the aftermath of the fiftieth anniversary of the Second World War in 1995.

Since then, the number of Canadians attending Remembrance Day ceremonies has visibly increased. The national ceremony in Ottawa, at the war memorial unveiled in 1939 and known as *The Response,* saw the number of attendees grow from a few thousand in the early 1980s to upwards of thirty thousand since 2014, the start of the First World War's centennial. Across the country each November 11, Canadians go to their local memorials, nearly all of which were erected to mark the dead of the First World War but which now represent all war dead, to reflect upon those who served their country in times of war and peace.

The slow and relentless war of time against the veterans of the CEF had no armistice, and those who served in the First World War had almost all died by the start of the twenty-first century. John Babcock, who had enlisted as an underage solder, was the last of his comrades; he was 109 when he passed away in 2010. Prime Minister Stephen Harper said of Babcock: "He symbolizes a generation of Canadians who, in many ways, were the authors of modern Canadian nationhood." With their deaths, the tangible link to our shared history is now severed; but the veterans' legacy lives on in tens of thousands of letters, diaries, and memoirs, hundreds of hours of archival film footage, tens of thousands of evocative photographs or pieces of art, and uncountable numbers of artifacts and relics that are infused with stories and meaning.

1914-1918
1939-1945

ALAMY STOCK

Canada's National War Memorial in Ottawa, known as *The Response*, was unveiled in 1939 to honour First World War dead.

EACH NOVEMBER 11, CANADIANS GO TO THEIR LOCAL MEMORIALS, WHICH NOW REPRESENT ALL WAR DEAD, TO REFLECT UPON THOSE WHO SERVED THEIR COUNTRY IN TIMES OF WAR AND PEACE.

The blood of those veterans who lived through the war, and some soldiers who were killed, also pumps through the veins of millions of Canadians. The families of their descendants have formed the modern Canada. These ties of blood and belonging will ensure that the war is not easily forgotten.

The vast digitization of artifacts and the creation of online resources have allowed Canadians to better explore their fam-

Students in 2012 search the walls of the Vimy Memorial for the names of the Canadian soldiers they researched as part of a school project.

MARK REID

ily histories. Because of the mass of records and the age of the material, the First World War, with its intersection of personal, community, and state history, may be the single most digitized historical event available on the Internet.

In recent years this rich resource has stimulated innovative school-based projects, allowing teachers and students to research the names on their local cenotaphs or other memorial markers, using digitized personnel files from Library and Archives Canada, and then to build on such studies with access to the wide variety of other records available, from letters to newspapers, from dedicated chat rooms to virtual exhibitions.

To this day, Canadians have a great emotional response to the First World War, embodied in phrases such as "Lest we forget," "the war to end all wars," "the birth of the nation," and "the passing of the torch," or in symbols and rituals such as Remembrance Day, the poppy, two minutes of silence, and the thousands of monuments across this country and overseas.

In 1919, in the aftermath of the destructive war, *Manitoba Free Press* editor John Wesley Dafoe walked the battlefields, drawn to the sites that hold and "may continue to hold, a unique place in Canadian consciousness." Indeed, over the decades Canadians have been drawn back to the battlefields, but never have there been so many and in such concentration as on April 9, 2017, when some twenty-five thousand Canadians returned to Vimy Ridge in an astounding display of unity, pride, and sorrow. To mark the one hundredth anniversary of the battle, they came together to honour those who were lost and to shed a tear on a ridge that is very far from Canada and yet very close to our hearts. Ninety-one-year-old Stan Egerton was one of those Canadians on the ridge. He went to honour his father, who served in the First World War, and his two brothers who were killed in the Second World War. When asked by a reporter about his thoughts of the meaning of Vimy, the monument, and the war, he replied, "I'd rather not say."

There are silences and gaps in personal honouring, even as nations remember and forget. Public acts of commemoration involve raising up and parsing out selected aspects of the past while downplaying or forgetting others. And yet, for the mass of Canadians who travelled thousands of kilometres to take part in this epic event, there was a desire to know and to connect, to ground the war of one hundred years ago in the present, to bear witness to the loss and grief, and to commemorate service and sacrifice. The return to Vimy reminds all Canadians of the war's long reach and of how that scarred and shared history continues to infuse the ever-reinvented Canada.

WAR OF WORDS

How propaganda was used to sway public opinion.

"Send more men." "Back him up." "This is your flag. Fight for it."

Over a century ago, posters with these messages plastered the streets of Canadian towns and cities, rallying support for the war effort.

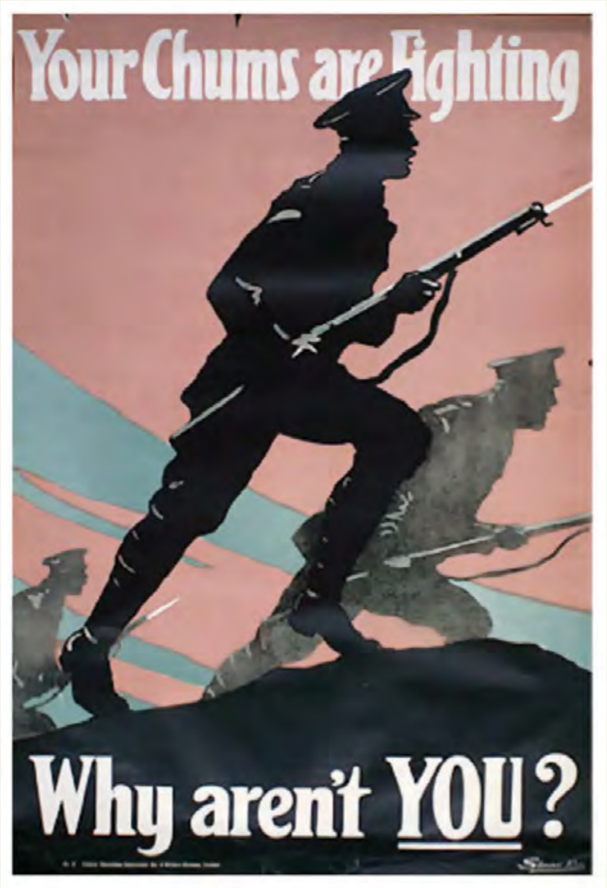
During the First World War, propaganda was an effective tool to inspire, inform, and persuade the public. Canadian posters were mostly text-based with simple images. They provided clear and direct messages, whether it be to purchase victory bonds, ration food, or join your local battalion.

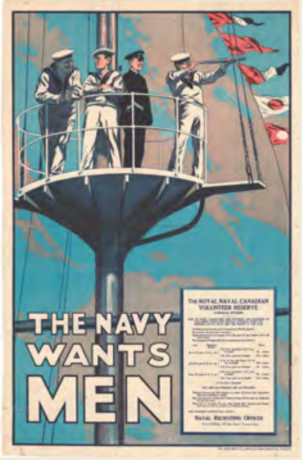
For the first two years of the war, the Canadian military consisted entirely of volunteers. Evoking feelings of pride and honour, propaganda posters encouraged young men to enlist, suggesting that it was their duty to do so. Some posters cited specific battles where Canadians were recognized for their bravery, such as St. Julien (Ypres) and Festubert, as a way of boosting morale. Since recruitment was carried out locally, propaganda was often personalized. Posters targeted specific groups, such as French Canadians and Irish Canadians, by including recognizable imagery, references, and slogans.

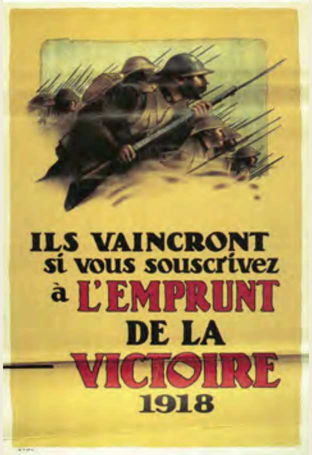
As the war dragged on, enlistment waned. Propaganda posters became increasingly important to try to fill this gap. Earlier in the war, posters were more enthusiastic in tone. Now they displayed a sense of urgency. Featuring images of exploding shells, trenches, and wounded soldiers, it was clear that the situation was grave.

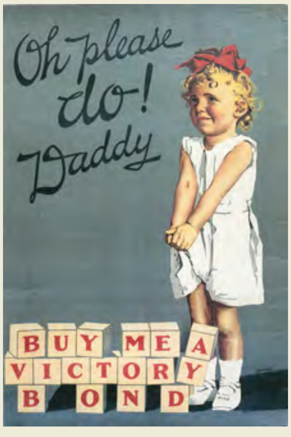
Propaganda also became more aggressive. Political cartoons, posters, and editorials questioned men's loyalty and masculinity. Those who refused to volunteer were labelled shirkers and described as cowards and weak. Propaganda posters also urged women to use their influence to sway men into enlisting. Some women even handed out white feathers, a symbol of cowardice, to shame men into service.

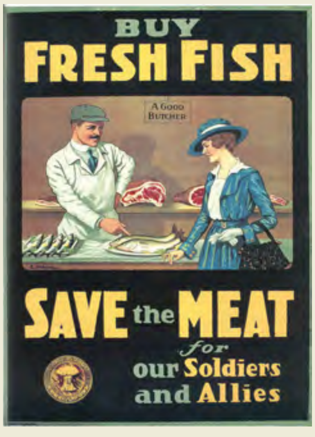
Despite the massive propaganda effort, by 1917, the Canadian government was forced to enact conscription to fill the ranks. — *Brooke Campbell*


Your Chums are Fighting
Why aren't YOU?


THE NAVY
WANTS
MEN
The Royal Naval Canadian Volunteer Reserve
Naval Recruiting Officer

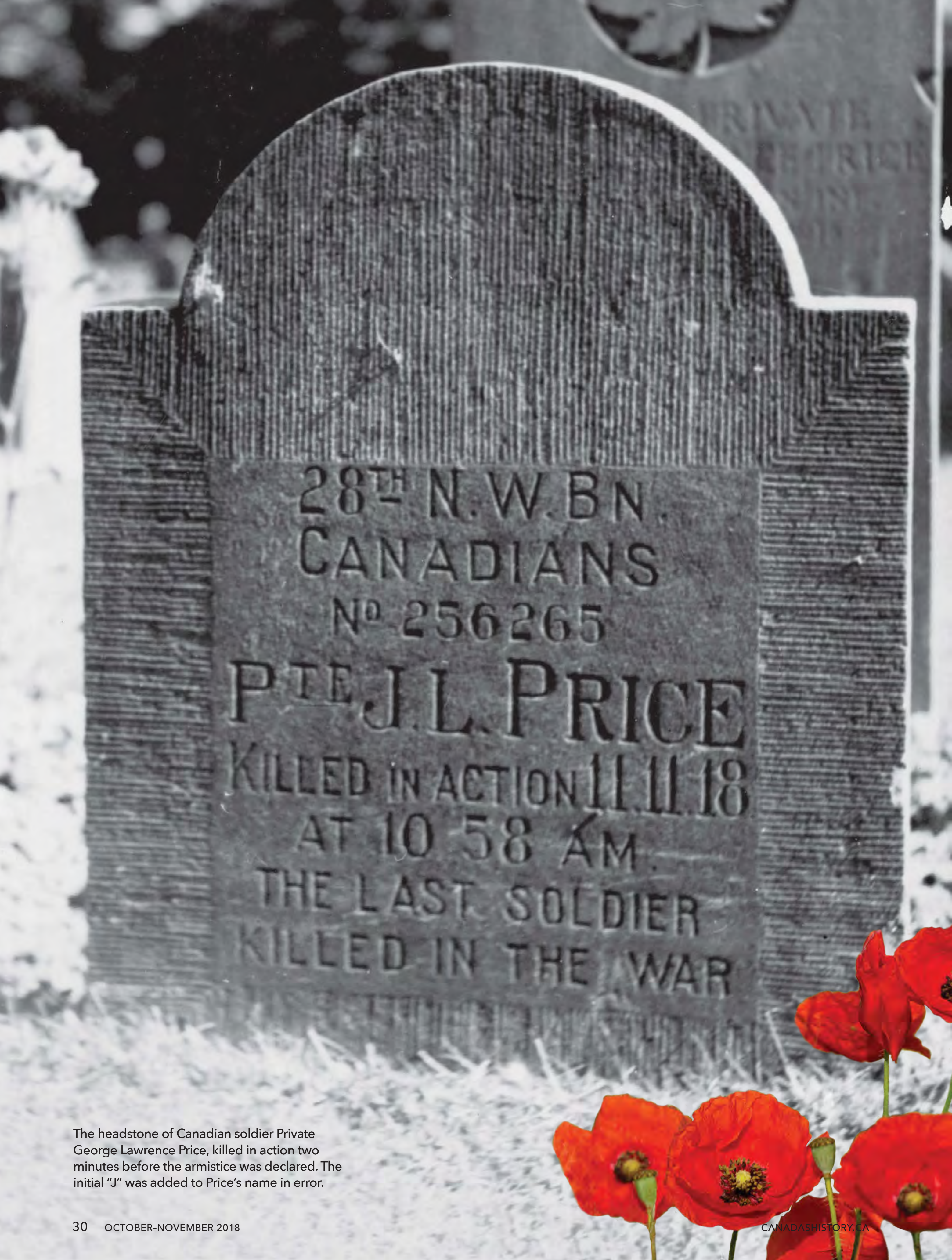

ILS VAINCRONT
si vous souscrivez
à L'EMPRUNT
DE LA
VICTOIRE
1918


Oh please do! Daddy
BUY ME A
VICTORY
BOND


BUY
FRESH FISH
A Good Butcher
SAVE the MEAT
for
our Soldiers
and Allies

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Clockwise from above: A poster asks men to enlist out of a sense of friendship with those who are already serving. A French-language poster urges French Canadians to buy victory bonds. A poster suggests rationing meat. A poster urges parents to invest in Victory Bonds. A Navy recruiting poster.


28TH N.W. BN.
CANADIANS
No 256265
PTE J.L. PRICE
KILLED IN ACTION 11.11.18
AT 10.58 AM
THE LAST SOLDIER
KILLED IN THE WAR

The headstone of Canadian soldier Private George Lawrence Price, killed in action two minutes before the armistice was declared. The initial "J" was added to Price's name in error.

THE LAST MAN

MYTH AND MYSTERY SURROUND CANADA'S FINAL FIRST WORLD WAR BATTLE CASUALTY.

BY IAN COUTTS

LEFT: CWM 19900076-117, GEORGE METCALF ARCHIVAL COLLECTION, CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM.
RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Late on the morning of November 11, 1918, George Lawrence Price became the last Canadian soldier and the last Commonwealth soldier to die in battle during the First World War, cut down by enemy gunfire just moments before "the war to end all wars" officially came to a close.

It's not a distinction anyone would seek. And, on the face of it, it is hard to see why this one death should matter more than those of the tens of thousands of Canadians who also perished in the fighting. Had he died a day or two earlier, he would be remembered, if at all, only by his descendants or as a name on a war memorial somewhere. But to die so near the end seems especially poignant. Just a few more minutes, we think, and he would have been all right.

Private George Lawrence Price.

The closer you look at the story of George Lawrence Price, the more confusing it becomes: He was killed by a machine gun. No, by a sniper. He was part of a patrol. He was alone. He died instantly. He held on for ten minutes. The accounts vary so dramatically, in some cases, that it is hard to believe that they are describing the same event.

Some of that confusion can be put down to the classic "haze of war"; some of it, however, seems a mixture of wishful thinking and folk myth. It's almost as if we can't resist the temptation to tinker with his story, to make it into a better tale somehow, or perhaps to have it serve our own ends.

We don't know a lot about Price. He was born on December 18, 1892, in Nova Scotia, one of two boys and seven girls. He headed west before the war, working variously as a brakeman for the railway and as a farm labourer.

He got in a little trouble with the law early in 1917. After public-health officials had taken away the landlady of his boarding house in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan (why, exactly, the newspaper reports don't say), Price entered her room and removed a few items — for safekeeping, he said. Appearing in court on January 15, 1917, he entered a guilty plea for theft and was sentenced to a month's hard labour.

A photo of him taken around this time shows a pleasant-looking, dark-haired young man, a shy smile playing on his face. He gave the photo to Hazel Flocker, a girl he had been seeing in Stony Beach, Saskatchewan, where he worked on a farm.

And that is largely it — all we know of Price before the war.

Private George Lawrence Price, service number 256265, joined the Army in October 1917. Conscription had been enacted just a few months earlier, in August, and Price's attestation sheet is the one used for those called up under the *Military Services Act*, which suggests that he was drafted. However, according to Michael Boire, a history professor at the Royal Military College of Canada, that is unlikely, given that Price noted his occupation as a farm labourer and that such men were exempted at this time. He shipped out for England on January 21, 1918, arriving at Liverpool on February 6 and joining the 15th Reinforcement Battalion. He was assigned to the 28th Northwest Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, a unit originally raised in Western Canada and part of the Second Division, reaching the battalion by May 2. Price fought with the 28th for the next several months, including being gassed on September 9, 1918.

The morning of November 11 found Price and his fellow soldiers in a place called Le Roeulx, a few kilometres from Mons, the Belgian city where, in August 1914, the British Expeditionary Force had met the German Army for the first time. After more

Above: The 28th Northwest Battalion marches past Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden in July 1918.
Below: A memorial plaque to George Lawrence Price is part of the collection at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa.

than four years, the Allies were back where they had started. Official notification of the armistice had reached the Canadian Corps that morning. But Price's battalion had moved off at eight o'clock, so it is quite possible that he and his comrades on the front lines had not yet heard the big news.

Not that it would have mattered one way or the other. Their orders were to push forward and then stop only when they reached the Canal du Centre. The effort may seem strange when the end of the war appeared imminent, but it was quite possible that the armistice would not hold and that, within days or even hours, the two sides would be shooting at each other once again. If that happened, the commanders wanted their men in the best possible position.

A steel lift bridge that looks in photos to be scarcely more than eighteen metres across connected Le Roeulx to Ville-sur-Haine, about twenty kilometres northeast of Mons. Older photos show the village as a collection of nineteenth-century brick row houses surrounded by the largely flat, if lush, farmland of this part of the Belgian countryside.

"We were to halt on the banks of this river or canal to wait for further orders."

The words belong to Art Goodmurphy, a fellow soldier in Price's platoon. He was interviewed by CBC TV for *In Flanders Fields*, an epic seventeen-part oral history the network broadcast beginning on November 11, 1964, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the start of the Great War. At this point, Goodmurphy was in his early sixties; in the recording, his voice is firm and his memories seem clear.

HE DIED FOR FREEDOM AND HONOVR
GEORGE LAWRENCE PRICE

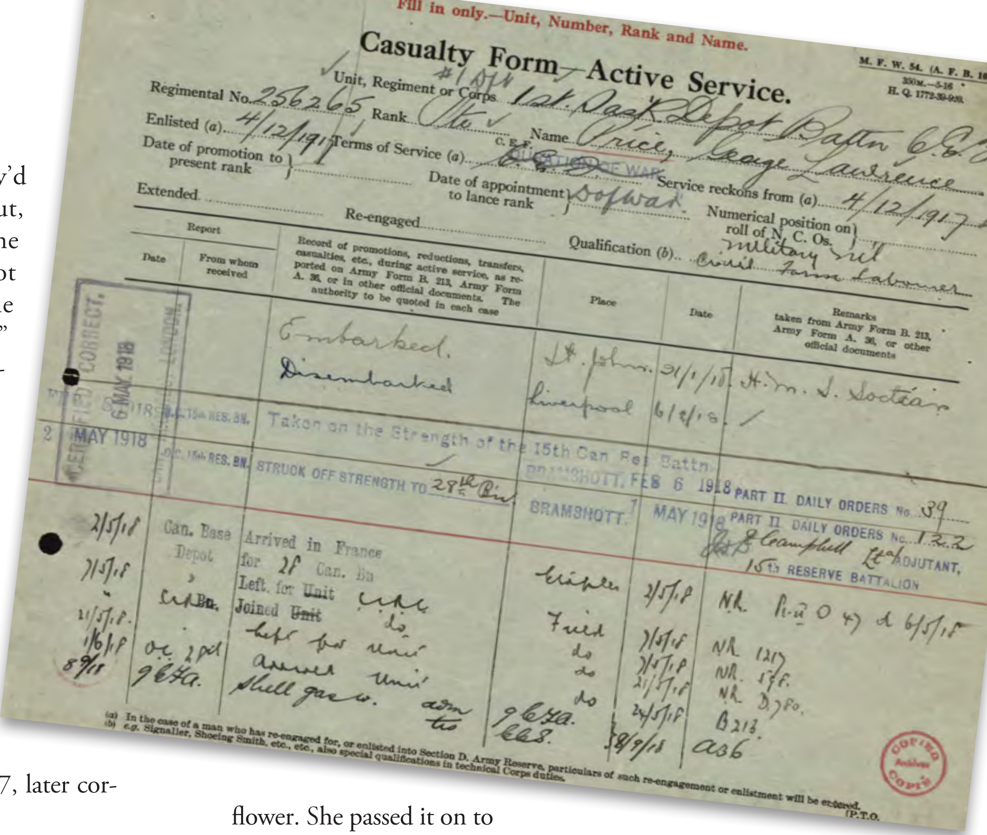
"Well, just about the time this Price, he came over to me and he said, 'What do you think of those houses across the road there?' Well they were brick houses with bricks knocked out that looked like a wonderful place to put a machine gun, or a rifle, or anything like that."

Apparently, Price and Goodmurphy were worried about being caught in the exposed area by the canal, so they decided to cross over.They took three Lewis gunners with them, but rather than lugging their machine guns they crossed carrying only pistols. Goodmurphy remembered that "on a little hill or knoll off to our right we could see Germans mounting machine guns."

When they entered the houses on the other side of the canal, they found only elderly Belgians — any German soldiers had bundled out the back door before they came in.

"And then the machine guns opened up. Oh, boy, they knocked the bricks off this house and knocked the shingles off," Goodmurphy recalled.

ABOVE: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. BELOW: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM



Fill in only.—Unit, Number, Rank and Name.

M. F. W. 54. (A. F. B. 1
350M.—5-16
H. Q. 1772-39-939.

Casualty Form—Active Service.

Regimental No. 256265 Unit, Regiment or Corps #1 Dft 1st. Dept Depot Battn C.E.F.
Rank Pte
Enlisted (a) 4/12/1917 Name Price, George Lawrence
Date of promotion to present rank
Terms of Service (a) C.E.F. DURATION OF WAR
Service reckons from (a) 4/12/1917
Date of appointment to lance rank D of War
Extended
Re-engaged
Numerical position on roll of N. C. Os.
Qualification (b) Military Nil. Civil Farm Labourer

Report: Date	Report: From whom received	Record of promotions, reductions, transfers, casualties, etc., during active service, as reported on Army Form B. 213, Army Form A. 36, or in other official documents. The authority to be quoted in each case	Place	Date	Remarks taken from Army Form B. 213, Army Form A. 36, or other official documents
		Embarked.	St. John.	31/1/18.	H.M.S. Scotian
		Disembarked	Liverpool	6/2/18.	
8-2-18	O.C. 15th RES. BN.	Taken on the Strength of the 15th Can Res Battn	BRAMSHOTT, FEB 6 1918		PART II. DAILY ORDERS No. 39
2 MAY 1918	O.C. 15th RES. BN.	STRUCK OFF STRENGTH TO 28th Bn	BRAMSHOTT.	1 MAY 1918	PART II. DAILY ORDERS No. 122 J.B. Campbell Lt. ADJUTANT, 15th RESERVE BATTALION
2/5/18	Can. Base Depot	Arrived in France for 28 Can. Bn	Etaples	2/5/18	NR [illegible] 6/5/18
7/5/18	"	Left for Unit [illegible]	Field	7/5/18	NR 1217
11/5/18	[illegible]	Joined Unit do.	do	7/5/18	NR. 5[illegible]
1/6/18	O.C. 28th	left for unit [illegible]	do	21/5/18	NR. [illegible]
8/9/18	9 C.F.A.	arrived unit [illegible] Shell gas w. adm to	9 C.F.A. [illegible]	24/5/18 8/9/18	B213 A36

CERTIFIED CORRECT. 6 MAY 1918 LONDON

(a) In the case of a man who has re-engaged for, or enlisted into Section D. Army Reserve, particulars of such re-engagement or enlistment will be entered.
(b) e.g. Signaller, Shoeing Smith, etc., etc., also special qualifications in technical Corps duties.

[P.T.O.

COPIED Archives COPIE

Could they get back? They figured they'd better investigate "The two of us went out, and all of a sudden, bang! A gunshot came from right up the end of the street. Got him right through the back, through the heart, and he fell dead in my arms there." He laid Price inside the brick wall surrounding the house.

Suddenly, Goodmurphy recalled, it grew quiet. "Wait until we cross that bridge, they'll get us then," he remembered one of the other soldiers saying. "But we walked across the bridge. No firing. Nothing ever fired."

Price was the lone fatality from the 28th Battalion that day. The entry in the battalion's war diary for the day says he died from machine gun fire at 10:50 a.m. A circumstance-of-death report, filed a little later, stated that he was killed by a sniper and put the time as 10:57, later corrected to 10:58.

It's a believable account for a layperson, but for anyone more familiar with the First World War it raises a few red flags: Where were the officers and the non-commissioned officers, who would normally make these sorts of decisions? Why leave the Lewis guns, which weren't all that heavy (twenty-eight pounds) behind? And privates don't normally carry pistols. So it's all a little off.

But that's not the only account.

From the window of the house where she was sheltering, Belgian nurse Alice Grotte saw Price's arms fly up as the bullet hit him. She dashed into the street without concern for her own safety. Together with another soldier, she helped to get Price inside. They did all they could, but Grotte sensed that he was done for.

He lingered for a few minutes, and before he died Price reached into his pocket and handed Alice a small crocheted flower. She passed it on to her daughter, who in turn gave it to George Barkhouse, Price's nephew, in 1991. It was a memento from Price's fiancée, her name long since lost. Barkhouse still has it, a tangible connection to the uncle for whom he was named.

Grotte's account first appeared in an article in the November 1968 issue of the *Legionary* magazine. The author, Lieutenant-Colonel D.E. Macintyre, had served with the 28th, although on November 11 he was away from the regiment, returning only later to assume its command. In 1968, as the fiftieth anniversary of the armistice, and of Price's death, drew near, Macintyre set out to interview as many of the surviving members of the 28th as possible about the events of November 11, along with any other eyewitnesses he could find. Grotte's account came to him indirectly from the curator of the war museum in Mons.

Perhaps Price was foolhardy?

That's the implication of a very different version of the story, related by a businessman named W.B. Pearson in a letter he wrote to Arthur Currie in the late 1920s. Currie, the former head of the Canadian Corps, was embroiled in a lawsuit against the daily paper in Cobourg, Ontario, which had implied in print that he had been cavalier with the lives of Canadian soldiers, particularly on the last day of the war.

According to this account, Price decided to cross the bridge alone, despite having been given specific orders not to do so. He had seen a young Belgian woman standing in a doorway and for a lark decided to say hello to her. As he went to shake her hand, the Germans got him. To add a little spice to the story,

CROIX PLACE
O.3680

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Top: This casualty form lists George Lawrence Price's history with the Canadian Expeditionary Force, ending on the other side with the entry "Killed in action 11/11/18."

Left: Canadian soldiers and joyful residents march through the streets of Mons, Belgium, on November 11, 1918. George Price was killed a few kilometres further east earlier that morning.

Nova Scotia resident George Barkhouse, eighty-four, looks out toward the place where his uncle George Lawrence Price was killed in Ville-sur-Haine, Belgium, mere minutes before the armistice took effect on November 11, 1918.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

the author suggests that one of the Germans was interested in the same young woman and killed Price largely out of pique. The story is told at one remove, the author relating what he heard from Thomas Keenan, a former member of the 28th who served with the man he called "Jack" Price.

Private Percy Bradley echoed this version. In a letter he wrote to Macintyre in 1967, Bradley recalled that he and Price, already thronged by grateful Belgians even before the armistice was officially declared, decided to walk down to the canal. On a whim, Price crossed over, alone. A shot rang out, Price fell, and Bradley saw a woman charge from a house to help him.

Another story suggests that Price's death was even more poignant. According to author Strome Galloway, writing in the December 1988-January 1989 issue of *Legion* magazine, Price was killed as he stopped to accept a bouquet from some grateful Belgians.

For non-experts, such a mishmash of fragmentary and contradictory accounts is baffling, almost irritating in a way — there has to be one true story, doesn't there? But for military historians this is simply the way things are.

"Interviews are notoriously unreliable because they depend on memory," Boire said. "I only use interviews when I have to. It's the salt and pepper to flavour what I get from the original contemporary document."

Not that those are necessarily more dependable. "The war diary is itself written after the fact and written by people who are far away from the action, not front-line soldiers." Days or weeks could pass before an event was recorded, and, Boire said, commanding officers weren't above altering a diary to show the battalion in a better light.

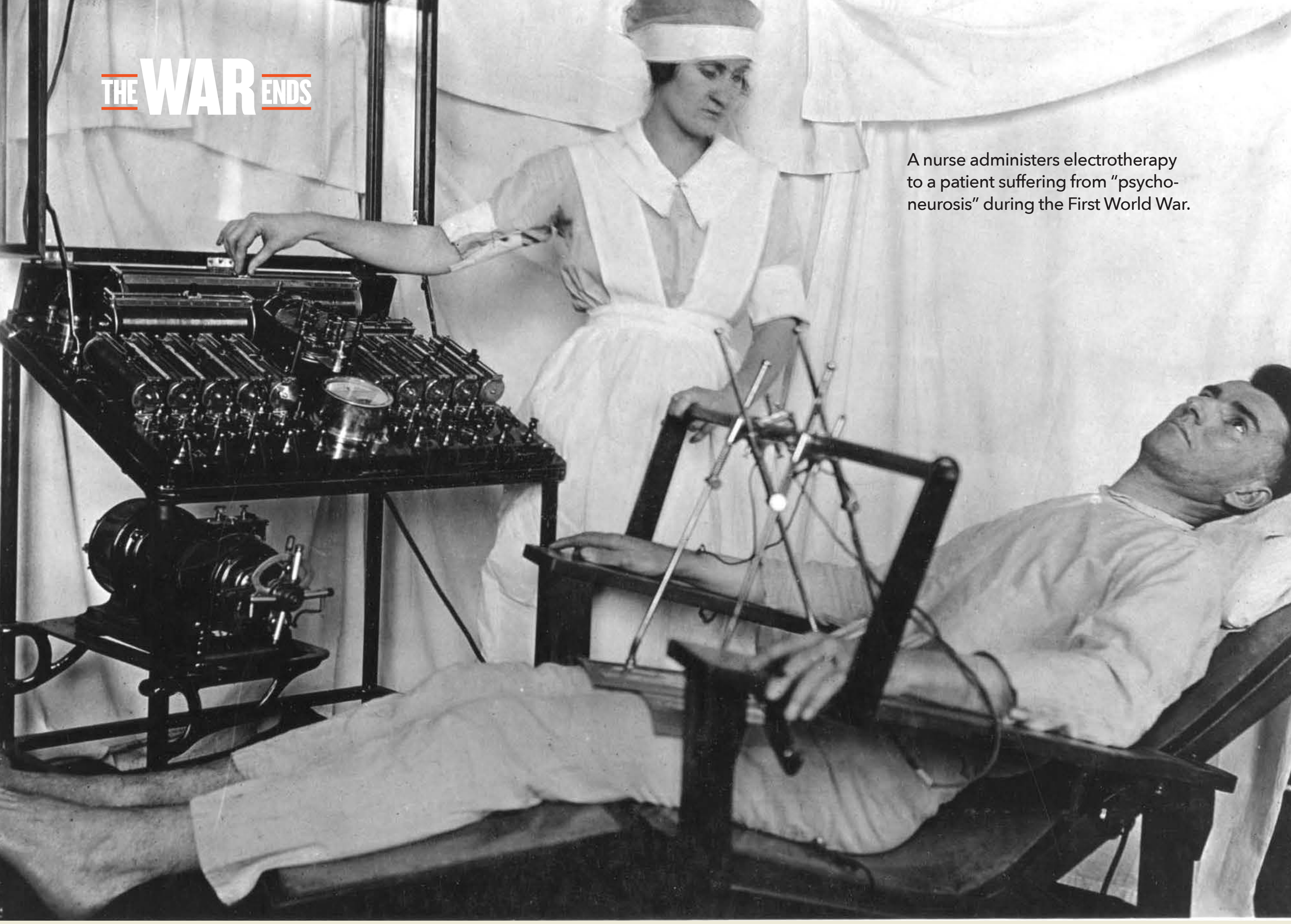
When it comes to separating truth from legend, Boire recommends looking at the broader context. "These are Victorian men. The desire to be a man among men propels a lot of these boys." The 28th Battalion, too, had a reputation for being an aggressive, hard-fighting bunch. "This is their third campaign season," said Boire. And, although Price himself was a relatively recent member of the battalion, he had been through some of the hardest fighting of the war, including the Hundred Days campaign that since August had seen the Germans pushed constantly back — with very high losses to the Allies. "He's not a young soldier. He's not an amateur, making amateur decisions."

"I can see Price getting killed, I can *see* it," said Boire, himself a former army officer. "I've had soldiers like that you had to grab by the shoulder and say, stop, get back. You're exposing yourself. You're exposing the rest of us." Price, for whatever reason, took a risk. This time it didn't pay off.

Looked at from that perspective, it's doubtful that he crossed the bridge on a lark. But the reality is that we will never know what actually happened to George Lawrence Price, other than the fact that he was killed on the last day of the war. Macintyre says even the time of his death, 10:58 a.m., was a sort of best estimate made by the battalion's officers after the fact.

He lies today in the military cemetery in St. Symphorien, Belgium, not far from the grave of John Parr, the first British fatality of the war, who died on August 21, 1914. The war had come full circle in a matter of metres.

The final words come from his old comrade Art Goodmurphy: "Poor old Price. He never did know that the war was over."



A nurse administers electrotherapy to a patient suffering from "psycho-neurosis" during the First World War.

ELECTROTHERAPYMUSEUM.COM

BATTLE BREAKDOWN

Shell shock was a mysterious malady that left soldiers incapacitated.

The intensity and trauma of trench warfare had profound impacts on the human mind. Soldiers exposed to the horrors of war began to break down, exhibiting a variety of symptoms that included shaking fits, insomnia, amnesia, and the "thousand-yard stare."

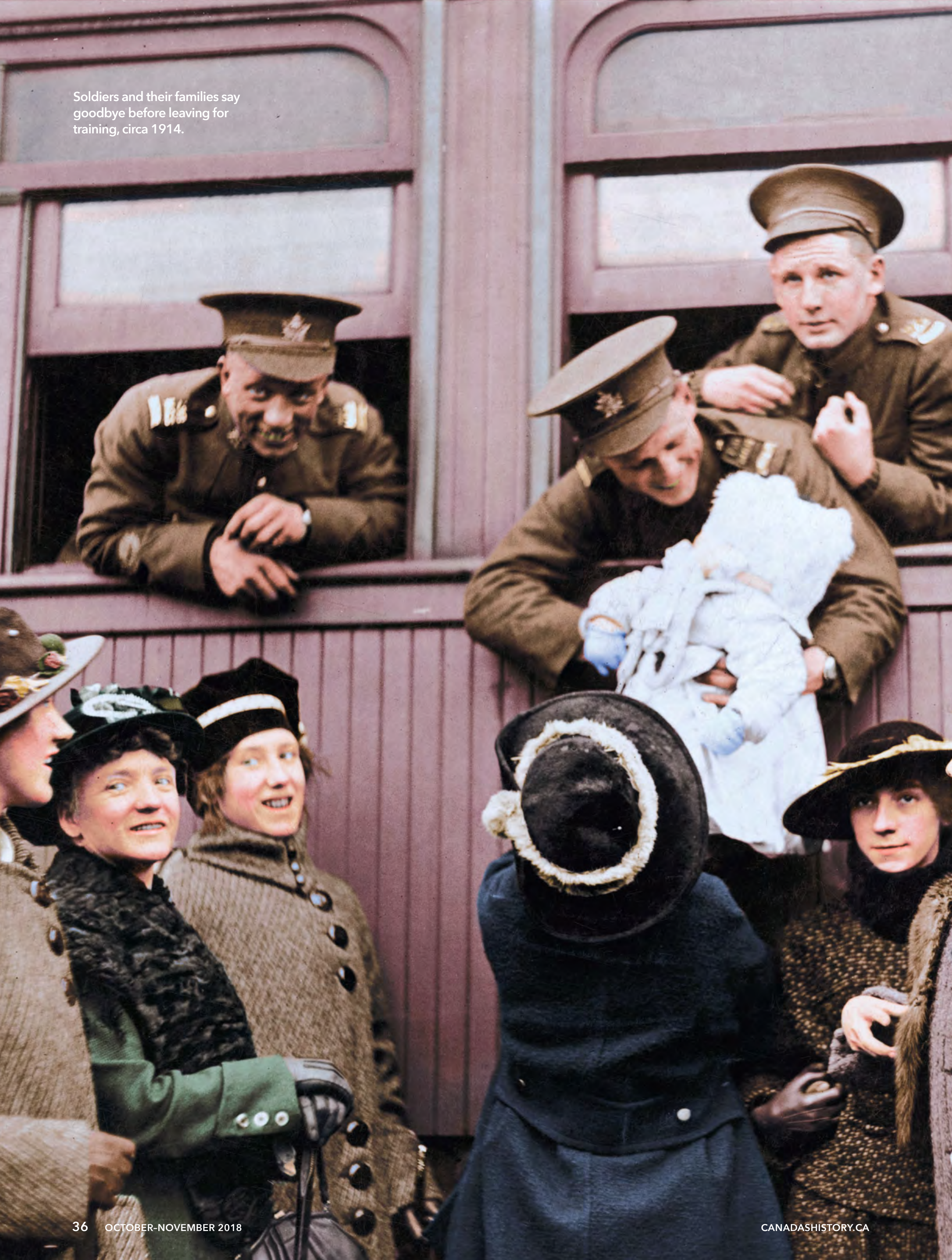
The coinage "shell shock" came from the initial belief that proximity to exploding shells caused microscopic damage to the brain, which then caused these reactions. When those who were nowhere near the front lines also began to show signs of breakdown, this explanation was brought into question.

Doctors were uncertain what triggered shell shock, and they debated how it should be treated. Medical treatment ranged from encouraging rest to electric shock therapy.

The military remained skeptical about the legitimacy of the illness. Without a physical explanation for shell shock, the blame shifted to personal weakness. Those who showed signs of breakdown were characterized as cowards. Over the course of the war, roughly ten thousand Canadians were diagnosed with the condition; many more likely suffered but were too ashamed to let their suffering be known.

By the Second World War, the term "shell shock" was replaced with "battle fatigue" or "combat stress reaction." Over time, the medical community came to recognize the illness as a legitimate psychological condition. In 1980, veterans and mental-health professionals successfully lobbied for the inclusion of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in the third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III).

Today the Canadian Forces use the term "operational stress injury" (OSI) to describe any "ongoing psychological difficulty that results from duties performed during military service." This category includes several disorders including PTSD, which we now recognize as a mental-health condition. Despite efforts to provide awareness and better treatment of OSIs, many sufferers still feel the stigma associated with mental illness. — ***Brooke Campbell***



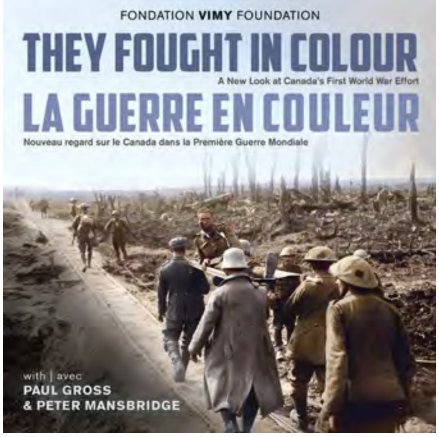
Soldiers and their families say goodbye before leaving for training, circa 1914.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES / FONDS 1244, ITEM 824 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION

GREY WAR NO MORE

COLOURIZATION PROJECT BREATHES NEW LIFE INTO FIRST WORLD WAR IMAGES.

BY MARIANNE HELM



FONDATION **VIMY** FOUNDATION

THEY FOUGHT IN COLOUR

A New Look at Canada's First World War Effort

LA GUERRE EN COULEUR

Nouveau regard sur le Canada dans la Première Guerre Mondiale

with | avec
PAUL GROSS
& PETER MANSBRIDGE

To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the end of the Great War, the Vimy Foundation is introducing Canadians to a new way of viewing Canada's First World War contributions: in colour.

They Fought in Colour: A New Look at Canada's First World War Effort will be available on October 6. The Great War was traditionally documented using black-and-white photography. The book's colourized images help to transform our understanding of the war, as well as the contributions of Canadians on the home front.

Witnessing the hues of young, flushed faces, the tints of the uniforms, and the tans and browns of the muddy, blasted battlefields, readers are brought emotionally closer to the experiences of the Great War generation. The book's ten chapters depict images of war preparation, medicine, life behind the lines, the home front, as well as the return home to Canada.

The images, colourized by Mark Truelove, are complemented by essays by well-known Canadians such as Margaret Atwood, Hugh Brewster, Stephen Brunt, Tim Cook, Charlotte Gray, Rick Hansen, Serge Joyal, R.H. Thomson, Lee Windsor, and Timothy C. Winegard. *They Fought in Colour* also includes a foreward by Pierre Berton Award winner Paul Gross, and an afterword by Peter Mansbridge.

Canada's History spoke recently about the project with Jeremy Diamond, executive director of the Vimy Foundation, and image colourization specialist Mark Truelove.

The title *They Fought in Colour* vividly reminds us that the world of the Great War was suffused with colour. What impact does colourizing black-and-white images have on readers today?

Jeremy Diamond [JD]: Colour makes the images, and the people in them, feel familiar. The people in these colourized photos don't seem like an ancient generation but rather as the young people that they were, thrust into a foreign experience. It makes the soldier in the muddy trenches, the nurse in the field hospital, and those who waited for them at home, raising money to support the war effort, come alive. Immediately, their expressions, mannerisms, and feelings are familiar.

It is incredibly impactful to look at these historic photos in a new way and to see both how similar and how different their lives are to our own lives today. The colour versions make them feel current. Suddenly these photos of war-torn Western Europe and those in the newspapers today don't look that different.

Mark Truelove [MT]: Most of the feedback that I get is from people telling me that the added colour has brought the photo to life and made it easier to relate to the people in the photo. It bridges the gap between now and then and helps to personalize the photos. The people in the photos become more lifelike — more like you and me!

What was the inspiration behind the decision to colourize the photographs?

JD: Our world nowadays is very connected through imagery — the amazing cameras on our smart phones, the photos we share through social networks like Instagram and Snapchat. The Vimy Foundation works predominantly with young people, and we are always looking for interesting ways to help them connect more strongly with Canada's First World War history.

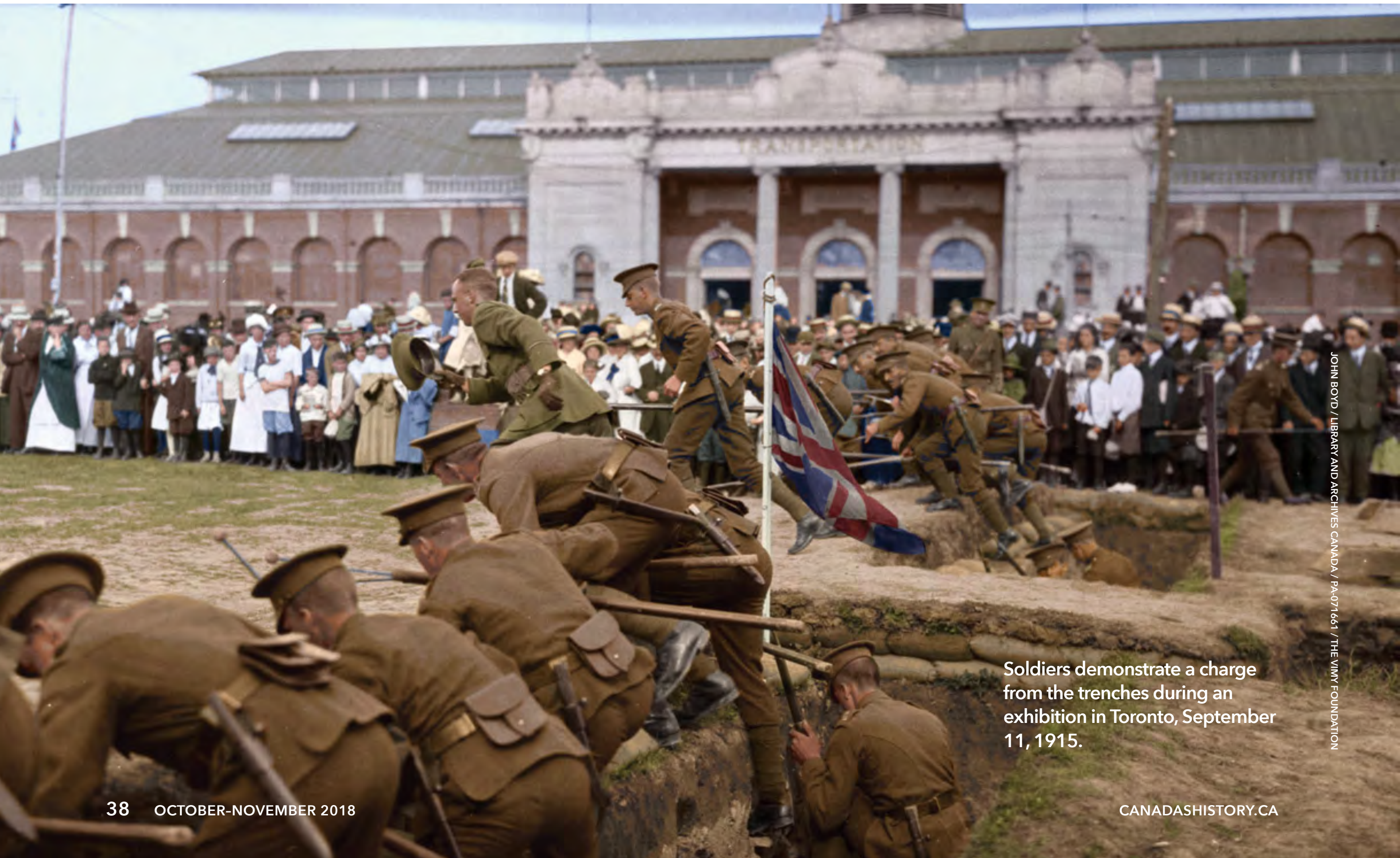
Black-and-white photos tend to feel like the ancient past — one hundred years might as well be one thousand years. But seeing the same photos in colour helps us to see the war as it was experienced by those who lived it and helps us connect to our history in a way that is more challenging to do with photos in their original form.

Mark, how did you first become interested in colourizing photographs?

MT: I first became interested in colouring photos when I was researching my family history. I had lots of black-and-white photographs and I saw a photo that someone had colourized online, and I wanted to do that to all of my family photos! So I taught myself how to do it, and it all went from there.

Describe the research process that goes into preparing to colourize a black and white photo.

MT: Some photos are easy to research, and some can be a bit of guesswork. There are great online resources for the colours



Soldiers demonstrate a charge from the trenches during an exhibition in Toronto, September 11, 1915.

JOHN BOYD / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-071661 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION of uniforms, medals, and advertisements. I often use old postcards for the colours of buildings, landmarks, and specific storefronts. The Vimy Foundation put me in contact with Caitlin Bailey, the curator at the Canadian Centre for the Great War, who answered some of the tougher uniform questions that I had.

Jeremy, what types of surprises emerged as you began to receive the colourized images?

JD: Each time a new colourized image arrived from Mark, we crowded around a computer screen, completely transfixed by the impact of the colour. It was always the photos with the faces that jumped out the most. We also started to notice that the faces in the photos looked like the faces of today. In some cases, even the haircuts were similar. This bridged the gap between past and present.

Each chapter deals with a different aspect of the war. How did you decide upon the themes, and how difficult was it in deciding who was the best writer to tell each story?

JD: We wanted to tell the story of Canada's role in the First World War from different perspectives, as the war itself was experienced from different ones. The various themes also allow the book to connect to different audiences – including those not necessarily interested in the traditional battlefield narrative.

We were fortunate to have so many wonderful Canadians interested in contributing to the book. In some cases, we wanted a sportswriter to write about sports — as in the case of Stephen Brunt — but in other cases a unique voice, such as R.H. Thomson commenting on how soldiers were received when they returned, was also very valuable. The writers bring their own perspectives to their topics, teaching something new to the readers.

Describe the selection process that went into choosing the images.

JD: Our project started with the most iconic photos from the First World War — the soldiers celebrating in the trucks

ABOVE RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/ PA-004782 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION
CENTRE: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-000958 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION
BELOW RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-001305 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION

Above: Quartermaster Sergeant Edwin Drake and Lieutenant Colonel Henry George Mayes demonstrate a dummy they designed and constructed for use in bayonet practice, circa 1914–1918.

Centre: The ascent of an observer kite balloon on the Western Front, October 1916.

Below: A Canadian Voluntary Aid Detachment ambulance driver at the front, May 1917.

ROYALTY THEATRE
EVERY EVENING AND MATINEES
MY LADY'S DRESS
HEINZ

Above: Soldiers of the 3rd Brigade travelling by bus from Plymouth to Salisbury Plain, England, 1914.

Centre: Canadian Pioneer Battalion service men cut wood in a forest near Vimy Ridge, August 1917.

Below: German prisoners transport a wounded Canadian in an improvised stretcher near Arras, August 1918.

after the victory at Vimy Ridge and walking through the mud of Passchendaele. We wanted to tell more of the story beyond the battle scenes, so it was important to include photos from all points of the war, a cross-section of what those four-plus years were like: some of the sporting events taking place behind the front lines, women working in factories in Canada, fundraising drives across the country, the work of nurses and doctors, training exercises, and the soldiers coming home. To do so we pored over the official war photographs now held by Library and Archives Canada but also looked through images from many smaller archives. Some photos jumped out immediately. The hard part was to cap it at 150 photos!

Mark, how challenging is it to ensure that your colourizations accurately reflect reality?

MT: It depends on the photo. It is a constant learning process for me to try to get the photo to look as real as possible. For most photos, with good research, they can be a good reflection of reality.

The book goes beyond the battlefield to tell the stories of other aspects of soldiers' lives, as well as the stories of those on the home front. Why was it important to move "beyond the trenches" in terms of the stories being told?

JD: We talk about this war as the Great War because it really did touch the lives of every person in Canada. Every community from coast to coast was impacted. It was critical for us to capture some of these changes — nursing sisters voting overseas, women working in munitions factories, the sheer numbers of soldiers lined up during recruitment, even the sports stars! It was also important for us to show some of the stories of the soldiers away from the front lines.

By featuring some of the more lighthearted moments of the First World War — the sports and games that took place, the holidays that were observed, and the meals that were shared — we hoped to present a different side of the war experience than the battle scenes that are typically shown.

ABOVE LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-004919 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION
CENTRE: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-001729 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION
BELOW LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-003178 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION

Nursing sisters compete in a race on Sports Day at the Manitoba Military Hospital in Tuxedo, Manitoba, 1917.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / E002504577 / THE VIMY FOUNDATION

The words "connect" and "connection" appear often in the text. Why is it important to connect Canadians today with those who lived during the Great War Era?

JD: The further we get from seminal moments in our history, the more challenging it is to connect these events with Canadians today, especially youth. This is especially true with the First World War. With no veterans alive from the Great War generation, we risk forgetting about the supreme sacrifice that so many men and women made during a truly transformative time in our country.

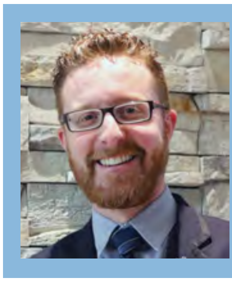
But look around us — many communities across the country have a cenotaph or war memorial with names of battles and war dead. These people walked the same streets, sat in the same parks and attended the same schools as our youth do today. Without realizing it, we are connected to these individuals a century later on a daily basis.

What was your favourite part of this project?

MT: My favourite part of the project was seeing the wide range of subject matter that the Vimy Foundation was interested in. They were able to get high resolution copies of the photos which were great to work with. I had favourites amongst the photos but they were all very interesting to work with.

The Great War generation is now gone, and the Second World War generation grows older with each passing year. What impact do you hope books like this will have in terms of helping new generations of Canadians remember the legacy of the World Wars?

JD: At the conclusion of the Great War, Canadians made a promise to never forget. A century later, the Vimy Foundation is encouraged by the public's increased engagement and interest in the First World War, created by the various activities and campaigns developed during this centennial period. *They Fought in Colour* is a new-look history book, one that tells an old story in a new way — with high-quality, unique, and never-before-seen photographs — and as a result we feel it will continue to stoke the interest in Canada's vital role in the Great War and be a publication that can be shared with readers of all ages for years to come.



JEREMY DIAMOND

A public historian for more than twenty years, Jeremy Diamond has developed unique Canadian history initiatives at organizations including the Historica-Dominion Institute, Hudson's Bay Company, and numerous museums, historic sites and archives. Since 2014, Jeremy has been the executive director of The Vimy Foundation.

MARK TRUELOVE

Mark Truelove has been colourizing historical black-and-white photographs for five years. Starting with his own family photographs as a hobby, he is now colourizing images for a wide range of organizations and individuals.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

THE BREAKTHROUGH

How, after years of stalemate, did the Allies manage to win the war?

Given the seemingly interminable slaughter, many people feared the Great War would last forever. Then, suddenly, in the summer of 1918, the stagnant war of attrition on the Western Front became one of sudden and swift advances as the Allies pushed Germany out of occupied lands in Belgium and France.

How did the tide turn so quickly? The answer lies in a combination of factors. For most of the war, Germany held a territorial advantage. The Germans invaded Belgium and France, dug in, and fought a defensive war from a position of strength, content to let the Allies smash countless waves of soldiers in futile attempts to breach German lines.

However, after years of failure and the sacrifice of millions of Allied soldiers, Allied generals finally began to embrace innovations in both technology and tactics. For instance, airplanes, once objects of ridicule, became essential. Aerial photography of battlefields and improved wireless communication between pilots and the artillery below helped to improve the accuracy of barrages. Meanwhile, the introduction in 1917 of tanks made it easier for the Allies to punch holes through German defences.

New technologies were married with new techniques of

100 DAYS CAMPAIGN

The Hundred Days Offensive was a series of battles in the summer and fall of 1918 during which Canadian and Allied forces pushed the German Army into retreat, leading to the end of the war.

AUGUST 8 TO 12, 1918

AMIENS, FRANCE

The surprise assault at Amiens proved one of the most successful days of battle for the Allied forces and delivered a staggering blow from which the German Army could not recover.

Left: A tank accompanies Canadian troops across no man's land circa July 1917.

Right: A Canadian airman practices using a Hythe MK III camera gun. The camera replicated the feel of a Lewis gun and was used to train pilots to become better shots.

Left: Canadian artillery forces shell the enemy during the Battle of Vimy Ridge, April 9 to 12, 1917. Improvements in artillery tactics and technology were a key factor in the Allied victory in 1918.

Top: Toronto residents celebrate the end of the war on November 11, 1918.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA TORONTO CITY ARCHIVES

fighting. One example, used to great effect by the Canadian divisions at Vimy Ridge in 1917, was the "creeping barrage" – a coordinated attack whereby troops closely follow a timed curtain of advancing artillery shells.

By 1918, the Allies also enjoyed a growing manpower advantage. While the British Empire could draw on its dominions, including Canada, for more soldiers, Germany's armies were being slowly exhausted. Meanwhile, the 1917 entry of the United States into the war offered the potential of literally millions of fresh new troops, along with abundant supplies for the war effort.

Fearing the looming manpower disadvantage, the Germans in the spring of 1918 launched a major offensive aimed at knocking France out of the war and forcing a negotiated peace.

Ultimately, the plan failed. The German offensive ran out of steam at the Second Battle of the Marne, dashing Germany's dreams of a decisive victory to end the war. By the summer of 1918, the Allies, often led by the Canadians, pushed back the Germans in a series of battles collectively known as the Hundred Days Campaign, which eventually led to the armistice on November 11, 1918. – *Mark Collin Reid*

AUGUST 26 TO SEPTEMBER 3, 1918

ARRAS, FRANCE

Canadian troops pushed through the well-defended Drocourt-Quéant Line, forcing the Germans to retreat behind Canal du Nord.

SEPTEMBER 27 TO OCTOBER 1, 1918

CANAL DU NORD, FRANCE

A high-risk operation to cross the canal and capture the enemy position proved successful and further pushed the Germans into retreat.

NOVEMBER 11, 1918

MONS, BELGIUM

The decision to liberate Mons on the final day of the war was controversial. Critics claimed Canadian lives were sacrificed for a symbolic victory.

CHILDREN OF CONFLICT

YOUNG CANADIANS WORKED, WORRIED, AND WAITED DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

by Kristine Alexander and Ashley Henrickson

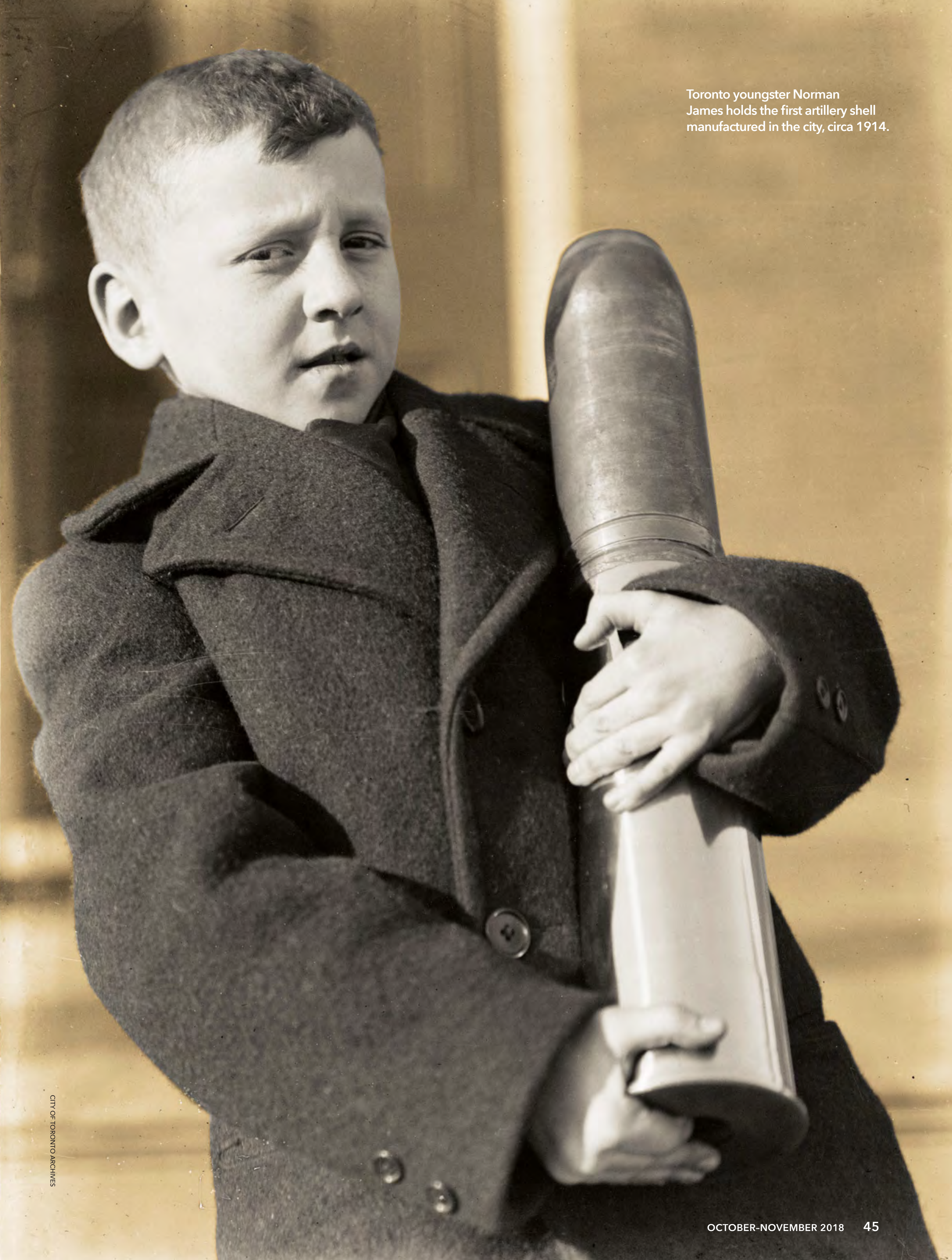
F**OUR YEARS, THE LENGTH** of the First World War, is a long time in the life of a child. For youngsters across Canada, the war years meant many things: the absence of fathers and brothers, a chance to make important contributions to the Allied war effort, opportunities to learn and to worry about events at the front, and, beginning in late 1918, a deadly influenza pandemic. Old enough to remember the war but too young to fight, this generation of Canadians would come of age in the shadow of the "lost generation," the cohort of men who fought and died in the First World War. Although Canadian children spent the war years far from the front lines, they were not mere bystanders to history — they were also active participants in a global conflict that forever altered their lives.

The enlistment of a father or older brother was one of the most fundamental ways the Great War changed children's lives. Approximately twenty per cent of the 470,224 Canadian men who served overseas were married, and a large number of these men were also fathers. An even larger number of children watched their brothers, uncles, cousins, and neighbours enlist or be conscripted as the war dragged on. Evidence of the familial and patriotic pride felt by these young people can be found in the letters they wrote to the children's pages of Canadian magazines and newspapers. Many of these missives began by describing the writers' enlisted relatives and their thoughts about the war, before moving on to discuss other aspects of their daily lives, such as pets and favourite books.

During the fall of 1916, for example, Estella Grant, a fifteen-year-old from Kilburn, New Brunswick, wrote in a letter to the *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, "I have two cousins at the front, besides an only brother in the 188th Battalion at Camp Hughes. He went West last August and enlisted in February at North Battleford, so you see I have never seen him in khaki. But we have several good pictures of him. I hope he will be able to get home for a visit before he goes overseas. I hope the war stops before my brother gets into the trenches. If I were a boy I would try to be accountable for a few Germans."

The extended absence of fathers and older brothers meant that many children across Canada supported their families with paid or unpaid labour while their relatives were overseas. After Sidney Brook, a farmer from Craigmyle, Alberta, joined the 113th Battalion in 1916, his sons Gordon, eight, and Arnott, six, helped their mother Isabelle care for their three younger siblings. Throughout his two-year absence — Sidney Brook survived the war and came home in 1918 — the Brook children also dug a cellar, delivered mail, and fetched milk and water.

Perhaps even more importantly, they provided emotional support to their father while he was at the front. The boys wrote letters telling him about their Christmas gifts, their baby sister, and the teeth they had lost. They also packed parcels to send to him and drew him pictures. Sidney described how much he appreciated these thoughtful acts, writing to his wife that he kept the boys' letters in his left breast pocket beside his Bible and that "a little dewdrop" blurred his vision while he opened gifts from his children. Scholars have recently emphasized the importance of letters for the morale and mental health of soldiers



Toronto youngster Norman James holds the first artillery shell manufactured in the city, circa 1914.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

Kathleen Herbert sells victory bonds outside Toronto city hall, circa 1915.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

in the trenches. As the historian Martin Lyons put it, letters from home, filled with messages of past happiness and future hope, were "a humanizing influence in a sea of brutality."

In addition to writing to absent relatives and helping their mothers with domestic chores and farm work, by 1918 Canadian youngsters had also made significant material and economic contributions to the broader Allied war effort. Children were a vital and enthusiastic unpaid labour force throughout the war. At school and in their spare time, they produced a wide range of goods for enlisted men, including socks, scarves, bandages, and scrapbooks full of local newspaper clippings. These scrapbooks were vital sources of news from home and played a central part in many communities' efforts to inspire soldiers to continue to fight. Children's unpaid war work also included collecting and scavenging bottles and cans, bones (for glue), household fat (for dynamite), sphagnum moss (an extra-absorbent substance used in medical dressings), and milkweed pods (used to make life preservers). In addition, youngsters grew and harvested fruits and vegetables, and hundreds of teenage "Soldiers of the Soil" provided valuable manpower on farms.

The nation's young people also raised and donated substantial amounts of money to war-related charities. In 1918, for example, Saskatchewan members of the Junior Red Cross raised $15,195.33 for Red Cross war work — an amount equivalent to nearly $350,000 today.

At school and at home, Canadian youngsters were also avid consumers of war-related news and propaganda; the difference between the two was not always readily apparent. In classrooms across the country, teachers were encouraged to use the war to teach their students moral lessons about patriotism, heroism, and hard work. At school, students read about soldiers who won medals for bravery and listened to dramatic tales about such heroes and heroines as the martyred British nurse Edith Cavell.

Thousands of schoolchildren across the country also learned about Allied victories and read Sir Edward Parrott's fifty-six-volume *The Children's Story of the War*. Each volume in this massive series, like other children's books published during wartime, celebrated youthful heroism while promoting anti-German sentiment. One chapter, for example, tells the story of a French Boy Scout who, after having been captured by German troops, refused to disclose the location of French troops. Parrott writes that the Germans told the boy "they were going to shoot him, but he showed no fear. He walked with firm steps to a telegraph post, stood against it, and with the green vineyard behind him, smiled as they shot him dead." This gruesome — and likely fabricated — tale, was accompanied by a moral for young readers: that it was brave and patriotic "to prefer death to the betrayal of one's countrymen."

It is important to note that children were not sponges who internalized this wartime propaganda uncritically. The letters children wrote to local and national newspapers suggest that they had a complex understanding of the war. There are few echoes of the propagandistic patriotism of *The Children's Story of the War*, for instance, in the letter from ten-year-old Cecil Poole of Zealandia, Saskatchewan, published in the July 5, 1916, issue of *Grain Growers' Guide*: "I think war is one of the most cruel and worst things that could happen. To think of the poor orphans and also the poor fathers and mothers who mourn after their sons. It's heart-rending to think of men shot down like beasts. I have one brother twelve years old and have just one cousin at the front, but if my brother and I were old enough we would try to take up arms for our country."

Young Florence McGibney, writing from the southeastern Saskatchewan town of Welwyn, expressed a similar understanding of the war's effects in a letter published in the same issue. "The men are down in trenches and are ready at any minute for an attack of the enemy," she wrote, "and every man is careful to keep his head down, if he doesn't want to make a target for the other side. This often happens, and then the sad news reaches home, breaking either a mother's or a wife's heart."

The waiting and worrying that characterized so many Canadian children's experiences of the war years officially came to an end with the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918.

While adults and children took to the streets to celebrate the end of the war, Canadian victory parades were haunted by another threatening spectre: the deadly pandemic of Spanish influenza that swept across home fronts and battlefields during the final months of the war. Schools were closed, often for several months, and newspaper headlines highlighted the tragic consequences that the flu could have for young people. British Columbia's *Agassiz Record*, for example, informed its community of readers that young Mildred Evelyn Wetherell, who had succumbed to the illness on November 3, 1918, "was aged 10 years, 7 months and 25 days."

Later that month, the *Manitoba Free Press* described an especially distressing case in which a nurse who entered a home encountered "[a] father and three children seriously ill and the mother dead on the sofa." Historian Esyllt Jones estimates that approximately five hundred flu victims in Winnipeg left behind one or more dependent children, creating thousands of orphans and "half-orphans" over the span of several months. Most orphans were sent to live with other relatives or family friends, while some were sent to local children's homes. Children with only one living caregiver often faced great financial difficulties in an era when social services were minimal and it was considered degrading to accept public aid.

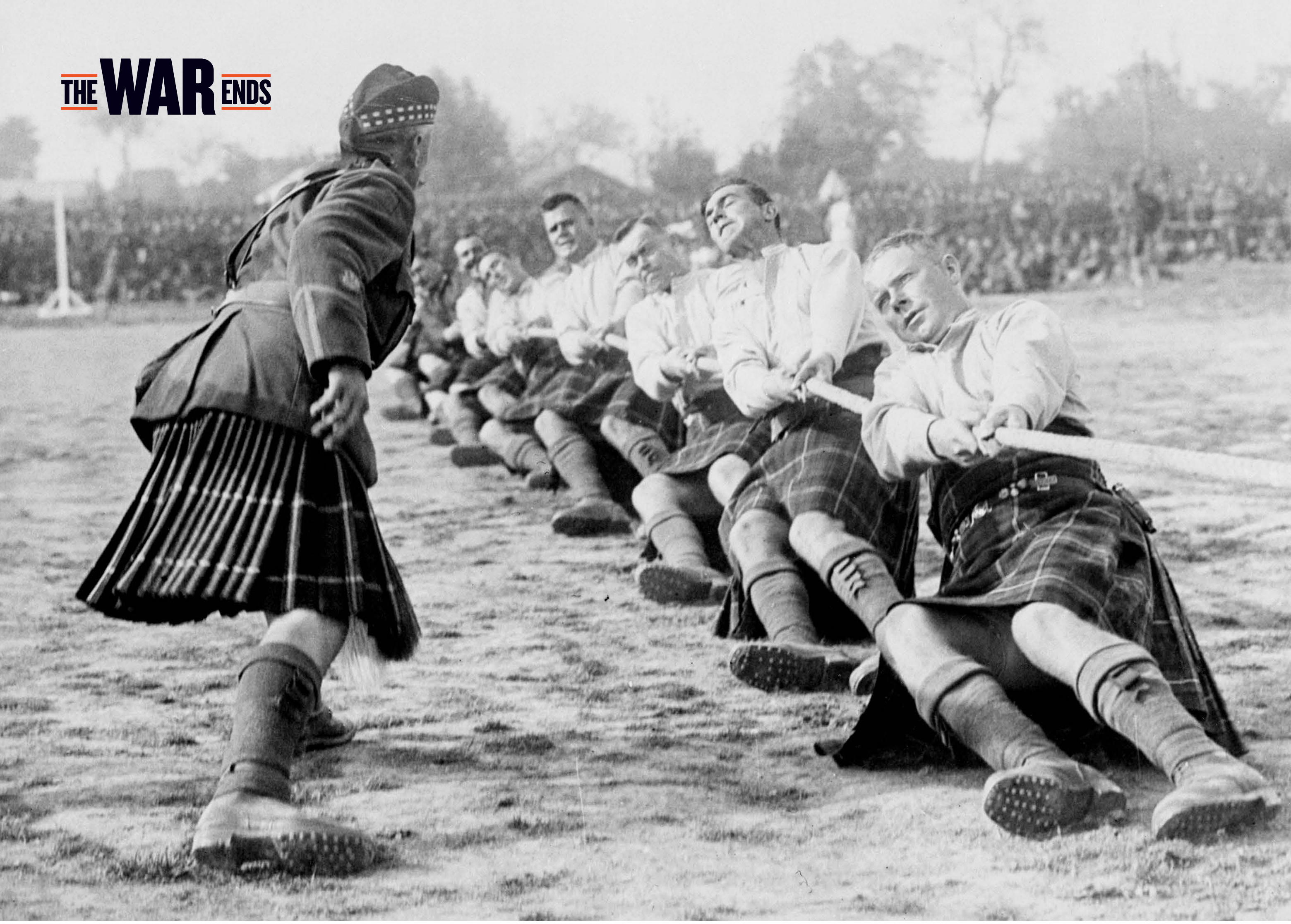
By 1919, the year when the pandemic ended and many Canadian soldiers returned home, life looked very different for Canadian children. For many young people, war work and worrying about absent relatives were replaced by grief, difficult readjustments to the presence of fathers and brothers — many of whom bore physical and psychological scars — and the material hardships that often accompanied the permanent loss of a male breadwinner's wage.

The First World War was won with the help of Canadian children, and it was also fought for them. Sidney Brook, like many other men in uniform, hoped that this conflict would be the war to end all wars, writing to his wife, Isabelle, that he hoped their boys would "grow up to be strong manly men and never have to shoulder a rifle." The desire that the children of the Great War would spend their adult lives in peace was dashed by the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. Four of the Brooks' sons — like many other young men and women who had worked and waited as children between 1914 and 1918 — served their country in the Second World War: Gordon and Lorne with the Canadian Postal Corps, Glen with the Calgary Highlanders, and Roy as a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force. All of them survived.

Top: Boys harvest flax near the Willowdale Airfield outside Toronto, circa 1917.

Bottom: Three Toronto children wait for their father, circa 1919.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES



LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

PEACE OF MIND

Behind the lines, great efforts were made to keep the soldiers fit and entertained as a way of boosting morale.

The Great War strained soldiers' minds as well as their bodies. The artillery that pulverized bodies, the machine guns that mowed men down by the thousands, and the gases that boiled lungs and blistered skin were simply unbearable. But the horrors of war were somewhat mitigated by efforts behind the front lines to alleviate soldiers' stress.

The Canadian army used athletics and entertainment to help to maintain the morale of the troops.

Sports competitions, from races and baseball games to tug-of-war events and beyond, allowed men to blow off steam and to earn bragging rights for their battalions.

Soldiers also attended concerts and vaudeville shows put on by travelling entertainment troupes.

The most popular group was known as the Dumbells. Founded in 1917, the troupe was made up of real soldiers who sang and performed comedy skits.

In their downtime, the men were buoyed by the camaraderie they shared with their fellow soldiers. They played cards, cracked jokes, and shared items from the care packages they received from home.

Soldiers often adopted animals as pets and mascots, taking comfort in caring for cats, dogs, and other strays. Some mascots, like "Sargeant Bill," the goat of the 5th Battalion, gained a level of notoriety for their antics.

All of these factors may help to explain why British Empire armies largely avoided the mass desertions that beset the French army near the end of the war.

– Mark Collin Reid

Opposite page: Members of the 72nd Battalion take part in the tug-of-war finals at an athletic meet in France in 1917.

Top right: A soldier of the 3rd Battalion holds a goat that was the battalion's mascot in May 1918.

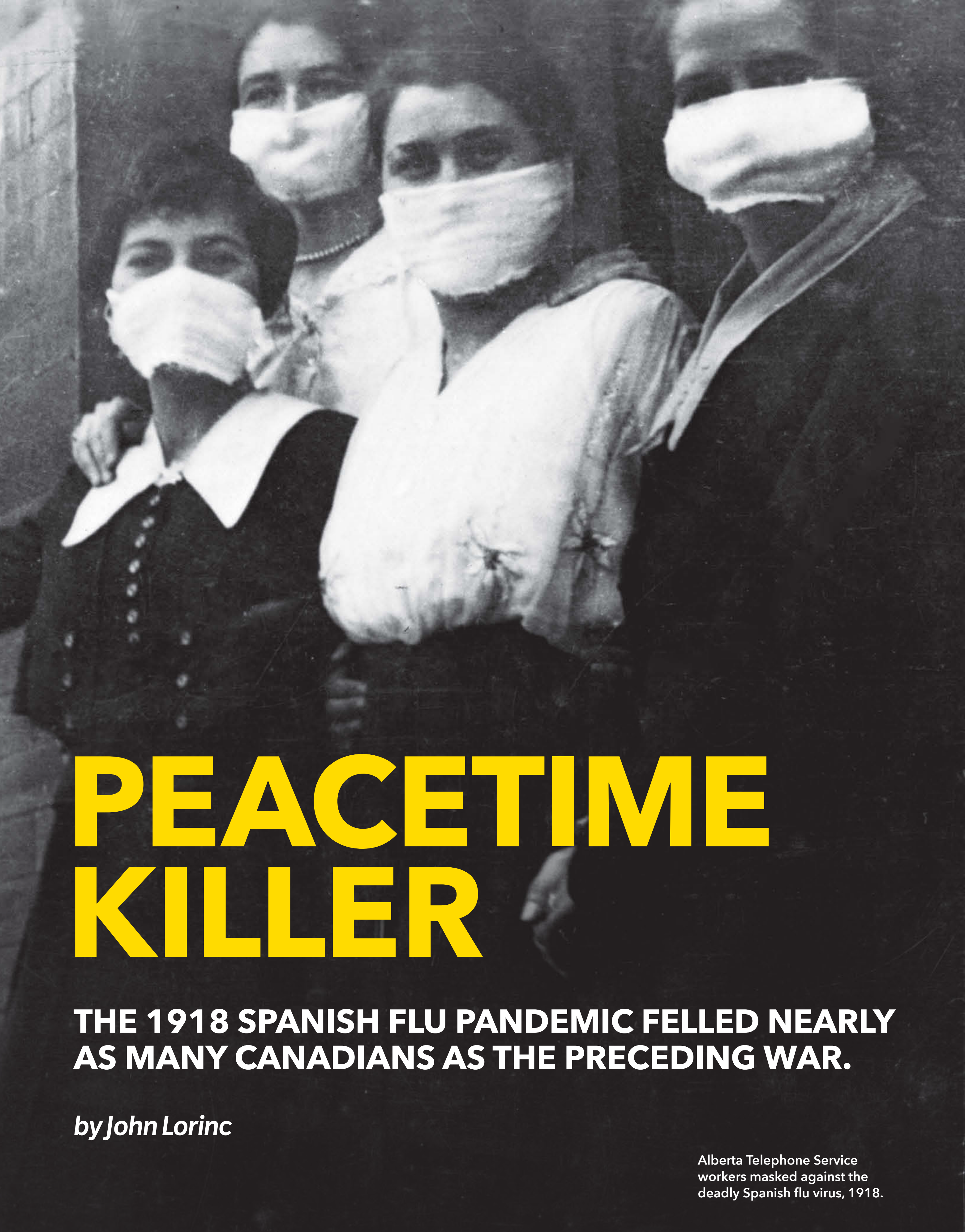
Below: Captain Mert Plunkett, founder of the Dumbells entertainment troupe, with two members dressed in drag, circa 1917.

Bottom left: Soldiers compete in pole pillow fighting at an athletic competition in France in 1917.

Centre right: Members of a Canadian military band in France, circa 1916.

Bottom right: Members of the 4th Battalion relax by playing cards in their tent.

CENTRE LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. BOTTOM LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. TOP RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. CENTRE RIGHT: KAREN JOHNSTON. BOTTOM RIGHT: CANADIAN LETTERS AND IMAGES PROJECT



PEACETIME KILLER

THE 1918 SPANISH FLU PANDEMIC FELLED NEARLY AS MANY CANADIANS AS THE PRECEDING WAR.

by John Lorinc

Alberta Telephone Service workers masked against the deadly Spanish flu virus, 1918.

On October 5, 1918, military officials hastily moved fifteen ill Canadian soldiers travelling through Calgary on a Canadian Pacific transport train into an isolation unit at a nearby army base. A thoroughly nineteenth-century approach to disease containment, the quarantine didn't work, and Calgary was soon inundated with infected civilians.

Only a few days after the train incident, Toronto Western Hospital found its wards rapidly filling with ill patients. Across the city at the Toronto Grace Hospital, run by the Salvation Army, fully half the nursing staff was ailing by the middle of October. The town of Sydney, Nova Scotia, had been virtually shuttered, its theatres, dance halls, and schools ordered closed in the days after the sudden deaths of three American servicemen stationed there.

Public and official sentiment had changed swiftly over the course of just a few weeks.

Canadian nursing sisters like these three – listed only as Mowat, McNichol, and Guilbride – worked tirelessly to help those suffering during the pandemic. Many nurses themselves succumbed to the disease.

While many Canadians were well aware of the Spanish influenza epidemic sweeping through the wartime trenches and post-conflict demobilization camps in Europe and the United States, some Canadian authorities initially insisted that this wave of grippe, as the disease was also known, didn't differ markedly from the annual fall flu outbreak.

Yes, a young girl had died in Toronto in late September — the first recorded civilian death in Canada — and many people had come down with colds. But as the *Globe* noted on September 30, 1918, "no alarm is felt by the Toronto health officials." The reason? "The measures which people themselves took" to avoid getting sick.

As the fall wore on, however, that sanguine outlook crumpled in the face of far darker reports that ricocheted across the country. The disease, which would kill fifty-five thousand Canadians and up to one hundred million people worldwide, spread along east-west rail corridors, travelling with soldiers returning from the war or heading to fight in Siberia. As it leapt into civilian populations, the Spanish flu ripped through families and communities, especially poorer ones. Like a hurricane, the pandemic left a trail of seemingly random and abrupt tragedy, as well as the long social and economic aftermath caused by the deaths of so many young, healthy people. The young turned out to be especially vulnerable to this particular virus.

In Montreal, trolley cars were hastily converted into rolling hearses to accommodate the tide of flu victims headed for burial, according to a 2003 account of the pandemic by federal Minister of Science and Sport Kirsty Duncan, then an adjunct professor of anthropology and geography at the University of Toronto. In Hamilton, cabinetmakers worked around the clock to keep up with the demand for coffins. Celebrated author Lucy Maud Montgomery contracted the flu in October. She returned to Prince Edward Island in a morose and physically weakened state, only to watch her beloved friend and cousin Frede Campbell succumb to the virus.

In her book *Hunting the 1918 Flu*, Duncan relates a story of two young Ontario women — roommates who had attended a lecture when the epidemic was at its height. "In the morning, Claire Hunter called to her friend in the same room, 'Vera, I'm going downstairs for breakfast.' There was no response. After breakfast, Claire returned to her room to get her purse and again called to her roommate. No answer. This time, Claire pulled back Vera's sheets. Vera was dead. The doctor said that she had died at about two in the morning."

At a sprawling military base for the Polish army in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, the disease jumped easily from soldiers to the local civilian population because people were constantly coming and going, according to Wilfrid Laurier University's Kandace Boegart, an anthropologist-historian and the Kleghorn Fellow on War and Society. After the pandemic erupted, she said, "the camp tried to close" its gates, but the attempt to restrict access came too late.

Improbably, the flu worked its way into the most remote locations, from Innu settlements in Labrador to tiny outposts on the West Coast. James Allan Evans, a retired University of British Columbia classicist, recounted in a 2000 essay the story of a family of six living in "complete isolation" on an island between Vancouver Island and the mainland. "With no contact with the outside world, they should have been safe from the virus." When both parents fell ill, they piled their four children into a boat and headed out across choppy ocean waters toward Alert Bay on Cormorant Island. The father died en route; the mother died a few hours after they landed.

Meanwhile, in Manitoba, the flu was spreading north, likely as the result of "an elaborate network of train lines, roads, and water routes" that fanned out from Winnipeg, as social scientists Lisa Sattenspiel and Ann Herring noted in a 1998 study. The epidemic,

LEFT: GLENBOW ARCHIVES; RIGHT: THE VIMY FOUNDATION

they found, “overwhelmed” some Cree and Métis settlements in the vicinity of a handful of Hudson’s Bay Company outposts, including Norway House, where the mortality rate exceeded one in ten by December. “The disease is raging in Pelican Narrows,” a newspaper in The Pas, Manitoba, reported regarding an HBC outpost just over the Saskatchewan border. “In one house, there were 20 [people] lying on the floor helplessly sick, with four dead bodies lying among them.”

“The disease,” Sattenspiel and Herring wrote, “hop-scotched across the landscape, leaving most family groups intact while ravaging and even extinguishing a relatively small number of others.” But for the fact that many members of those Indigenous communities were out on traplines in late fall and early winter, the devastation would have been far greater, the authors concluded. Other communities weren’t so fortunate. A 1967 study estimated that the pandemic killed almost four per cent of Canada’s Indigenous population — a mortality rate five times greater than among the general population. Some especially remote communities that had no health-care resources were wiped out entirely.

With sickness and death infiltrating every corner of Canadian society, ordinary people reached for anything that promised some kind of protection, even as health officials recommended the use of cotton masks and the avoidance of crowded places. Duncan describes measures such as sacks worn around the neck containing mothballs or cotton balls soaked in camphor. The sick, many of whom had developed fierce and often lethal pneumonia, were treated with “poultices of goose grease, bran, lard and turpentine and compresses of fir tree spills, mutton tallow and mustard,” according to Duncan.

Some especially remote communities that had no health-care resources were wiped out entirely.

Meanwhile, in the Quinte region of eastern Ontario, readers of *Weekly Ontario* learned that an apparently fail-safe remedy for the “thin” blood and “weakened” nerves associated with the flu was essentially snake oil — a concoction produced in Belleville and known as Dr. Williams’ Pink Pills for Pale People. As the newspaper reported, the treatment contained “just the elements needed to build up the blood, and restore the lost colour and vitality.” The cost: fifty cents a box, or six for $2.50.

By the early spring of 1919, it seemed as if nothing had been left untouched by the pandemic, including the Stanley Cup playoffs, which were taking place that year in Seattle in late March. In the middle of the finals between the Montreal Canadiens and the Seattle Metropolitans, several players on each team contracted the flu, and one died on the eve of the fourth game. The series was abruptly cancelled.

Very soon after, the pandemic — by then in its third wave — petered out, receding almost as quickly as it had arrived. Now, a century later, it is both fascinating and instructive to ponder the elusive lessons of an outbreak that killed more people than any other similar event in history, including wars and plagues, and yet rapidly receded from collective memory.

We live in a fearful age, under the looming shadow of some devastating future pandemic. After the outbreak of SARS in 2003, and H1N1 in 2009, health officials in many countries started planning for the sort of major global pandemic that has occurred every thirty years or so over the past century. In some ways, the 1918 Spanish flu represents the nightmare scenario, frequently invoked if not well understood.

But when flu historian Mark Humphries, director of the Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, talks about the legacy of the Spanish flu pandemic, he is quick to offer a caution: Beware of comparisons, because 1918 and 2018 are profoundly different when it comes to infectious disease control and health. An adult who lived through the Spanish flu, he said, would have grown up at a time when outbreaks of tuberculosis, yellow fever, polio, smallpox, cholera, and typhoid were hardly uncommon. Indoor plumbing, water treatment, sanitation, hygiene, milk pasteurization — these were all relatively new technologies, especially in a country that tended to lag behind the United States and Europe in public-health policy.

While rudimentary vaccines existed in 1918, Alexander Fleming’s discovery of penicillin — which, in various synthetic forms, is now routinely used to treat most infectious diseases as well as pneumonia, one of the leading causes of death in the 1918 pandemic — was still ten years off. The flu virus itself wouldn’t be isolated until the early 1930s, and antiviral drugs, now routinely stockpiled and used in wealthier nations, didn’t appear until the 1950s.

That same adult, moreover, likely had a far lower baseline of health and a shorter life expectancy than she would have today, Humphries added. Coal was the primary fuel source, causing polluted air and the resulting lung irritation. For many people, their diets lacked sufficient fresh fruit and vegetables and other important sources of nutrition. “I would argue that what the flu did, at a time when the major nineteenth-century epidemic diseases were coming to an end, was remind people how susceptible they were.”

While no one was immune, some people were more susceptible than others. University of Manitoba historian Esyllt Jones has written extensively on the Spanish flu. She points out that the poor, recent immigrants and the members of isolated Indigenous communities tended to be more vulnerable, even though the flu virus — unlike infectious diseases linked to poverty — didn't pay attention to class lines.

During previous epidemics, public health officials often used coercive measures, such as quarantines and placarding homes with official signs indicating the presence of sick people, to isolate those who were infected — measures that were often inflicted on poor communities that were more likely to experience the overcrowding, contaminated water, and other conditions that accelerate infection. By 1918, however, a growing number of municipal health departments had abandoned these tactics, instead deploying small armies of nurses and volunteers to visit and to treat sufferers in their homes. Toronto's public-health nurses paid more than seventeen thousand home visits during the outbreak. Some of the two thousand nursing aides in the Canada and Newfoundland Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) also joined this effort upon returning from Europe to Canada, having treated flu-stricken soldiers in France and, in some cases, having come down with the disease themselves.

Nurses kept patients "calm, hydrated, nourished and rested," observed Linda Quiney of the University of British Columbia's school of nursing. Despite this outreach, Jones added, "influenza threatened the fragile framework of survival for many working families, but it also created among immigrants and working-class communities a heightened awareness of their mutual reliance and their ability to sustain themselves in times of crisis."

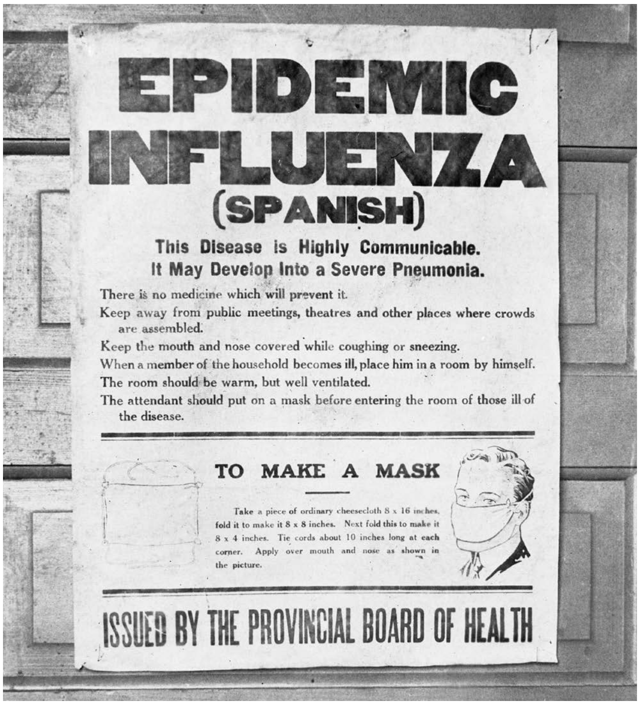
For example, in Winnipeg's North End, home to the city's Jewish community, the Yiddish-language press promoted fundraising campaigns to support afflicted families. "There was a sense that it wasn't appropriate for them to be seen to not be able to take care of their own," said Jones, who sees such efforts as indicative of a newcomer community's awareness of its own vulnerability.

Such examples of grassroots local support cropped up in many communities across the country, according to Boegart. "With pandemics, you get the best and the worst. There was a lot of volunteerism, and people taking care of their neighbours."

Hundreds of kilometres north of Winnipeg, as the flu swept through remote Indigenous settlements, different communities had starkly different experiences. University of Toronto medical anthropologist Karen Slonim observed that at Norway House, a predominantly Cree HBC outpost north of Lake Winnipeg, federal officials dispatched a physician and two assistants for two months to treat flu sufferers. But at Fisher River — a settlement on the west side of the lake and actually much closer to the city — the residents received little federal aid, relying instead on local medical attendants and a hospital. It's not clear from the records why the response varied so widely.

As Slonim found when studying medical records, the epidemic proved to be far more devastating in Norway House, which was also experiencing food shortages and plunging temperatures when the disease struck. Fisher River, situated much farther south, had a more agriculturally based economy. Yet in both communities, she observed, "the traditional way of life had been irrefutably altered, and the systems that once enabled people to deal with hardship or catastrophe had been decimated."

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



EPIDEMIC
INFLUENZA
(SPANISH)

This Disease is Highly Communicable.
It May Develop Into a Severe Pneumonia.

There is no medicine which will prevent it.
Keep away from public meetings, theatres and other places where crowds are assembled.
Keep the mouth and nose covered while coughing or sneezing.
When a member of the household becomes ill, place him in a room by himself.
The room should be warm, but well ventilated.
The attendant should put on a mask before entering the room of those ill of the disease.

TO MAKE A MASK

Take a piece of ordinary cheesecloth 8 x 16 inches, fold it to make it 8 x 8 inches. Next fold this to make it 8 x 4 inches. Tie cords about 10 inches long at each corner. Apply over mouth and nose as shown in the picture.

ISSUED BY THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF HEALTH

Influenza notices like this one were posted on all public buildings in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, during the pandemic.

Jones points out that the epidemic cast a similarly long shadow over some urban neighbourhoods, particularly in working-class families where the primary male breadwinner died, leaving his spouse to pick up the pieces. Unlike the partners of soldiers killed in battle during the First World War, flu widows received no pension, although some received a modest mother's allowance. Many ended up raising children on meagre welfare payments, forced to justify their household budgets to visiting social workers, whose case files formed the basis of Jones' research. Remarriage was very rare. Rather, the children raised in these households faced enormous pressure to leave school and to start working as soon as they could. "Influenza was a source of downward social mobility," Jones explained. "It had a long-term socio-economic impact, like the war itself, but flu survivors had no benefits."

Gauging the wider impact of the 1918–19 Spanish flu has been a preoccupation of historians, public health experts, and anthropologists for years. It is a surprisingly elusive problem, in part because the historical narrative of the pandemic was either subsumed by the nation-building mythology of the war or forgotten. Historian Alfred Crosby, author of *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, said the major writers of the period — Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, F. Scott Fitzgerald — barely mentioned the flu, even though they'd personally encountered its devastation. (One of the best-known accounts is a powerful 1939 novella by Katherine Anne Porter, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*.) The pandemic's speed "encouraged forgetfulness," he added. "Many people thought of the flu as simply a subdivision of the war."

Unlike the war effort, however, there was scant postwar public commemoration of the heroes of the pandemic, and specifically the hundreds of nurses who attended to victims and often caught the disease, sometimes dying from it. In the emotion of the immediate aftermath, plans were drawn up to erect memorials to the doctors and nurses who fought on the front lines of this scourge. But, in the end, according to Quiney, only two VAD nurses who died of the disease, Dorothy Twist and Ethel Dickinson, were recognized. "There was a brief moment when women were supposed to get medals and were spoken of as heroes," Jones observed, "but it didn't last."

There's no question that they were heroes. Twist, who had served in a British military hospital but died of the flu while working in Surrey, B.C., is recognized on two cenotaphs on Vancouver Island, including one in her family's hometown. Dickinson, a Newfoundlander, did a two-year VAD stint in London, England, before returning to St. John's in poor health in the summer of 1918. Like Twist, she contracted the virus while attending to ailing soldiers in a local hospital, and she died within two days. A memorial cross in her honour was erected in 1920 in St. John's and acknowledges the contribution Newfoundland nurses made during both the war and the epidemic. By contrast, First World War memorials, cenotaphs, plaques, and other markers can be found in almost every city, town, and school in Canada.

Humphries offered a different view of the issue of memory of the pandemic. "It got lost not because people forgot about it but because of the many [diseases] around then that could kill you." While he was doing research on the flu early in his career, he recalls excitedly arranging to interview his elderly great-grandmother, who'd been nineteen in 1918. While he was eager to hear about her experiences with the flu outbreak, she was far more interested in talking about the smallpox outbreak of 1921. "She had forgotten about it because it had been overshadowed by other things."

Yet Jones observed that when she gives public lectures about the flu there's invariably plenty of evidence that private memories of the flu persist through the generations. Audience members offer handed-down anecdotes about grandparents or other ancestors. "The notion that we forgot [the pandemic] just isn't true."

How did those private experiences translate into public action? The answers vary widely. There's no specific evidence establishing a link between the pandemic and the Winnipeg General Strike in the spring of 1919, but Jones argues that the hardships endured by flu-ravaged working-class or immigrant families helped to stoke the sense of unrest.

In other domains, both in Canada and abroad, the connections between the pandemic and subsequent events are far clearer. In the decade following the pandemic, scientists in the United States and the United Kingdom set to work trying to identify the cause of the disease, conducting research that eventually led to the isolation of the virus. In South Africa, meanwhile, the pandemic provided local and national white politicians with an excuse to cement land-use-planning laws that institutionalized racial segregation in the name of public health, reasoning that such outbreaks flourished in poor communities with many black residents and poor sanitation.

U.S. ARMY PHOTOGRAPHER, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

The flu virus thrived in wartime conditions. American soldiers stricken during the pandemic are treated in a hospital ward at Fort Riley, Kansas.

Here in Canada, the most specific policy response to the flu was the decision by Prime Minister Robert Borden's Conservative government to establish a federal department of health regarding a policy field that had been managed by most municipal and some provincial governments as far back as the cholera outbreaks of the 1830s. Pressure to make this jurisdictional incursion had come from public health practitioners and organizations like the Ontario Medical Association. In fact, at a May 1919 symposium at the University of Toronto, convened by the Canadian Public Health Association and other groups, speakers called on the federal government not only to establish a national department of health but also to invest in influenza research and to establish a public-health insurance system, a reform that didn't happen until the early 1960s.

Humphries said the new department's initial mandate was broad and included labour standards, housing, immigration, infectious-disease reporting, and quarantines. "It very quickly lost steam," he added. In a matter of a few years, and absent another pandemic, the department devolved into an information clearing house and a forum that allowed the federal government to work with provincial public-health officials.

The creation of the federal health department also came on the heels of years of activism by social reformers and progressives whose broad modernizing agenda included everything from improved sanitation to prohibition. Canada, what's more, had lagged the United States and Europe when it came to social-welfare and public-health policy. The calls for a federal agency, in fact, reflected a thoroughly twentieth-century belief that this responsibility required the heft of a centralized bureaucracy and national standards. The pandemic, Humphries explained, amplified the urgency of such demands and galvanized figures such as Dr. Charles Hastings, Toronto's crusading medical officer of health and one of the country's leading proponents of public-health advocacy.

Indeed, perhaps the most important legacy of the 1918 pandemic is that it marked the waning of the thinking that had dominated Canadian public-health practice for generations: that the vector of infectious diseases could be halted using isolation, exclusion, and sanitary reform. (The approach didn't disappear entirely: In the United States, Mary Mallon, known as Typhoid Mary, was quarantined for the last twenty-three years of her life because she had been identified as an asymptomatic carrier.)

As Jones points out, because the flu was just as likely to strike affluent communities as to strike poor or immigrant ones, and because it spread extremely rapidly across large distances, traditional containment methods simply didn't work. (Local officials nonetheless continued to post notices on the doors of ill families.) Instead, during and after the pandemic, medical officers of health turned to prevention-minded public-education campaigns, treatment, and, eventually, vaccination campaigns.

"The federal department of health," concluded Humphries, "laid the basis for a new ideology of public health governance, one that saw disease as a *community* problem, not only an individual hardship or a plague brought on by outsiders."

ALAMY

DEATH BY DROWNING

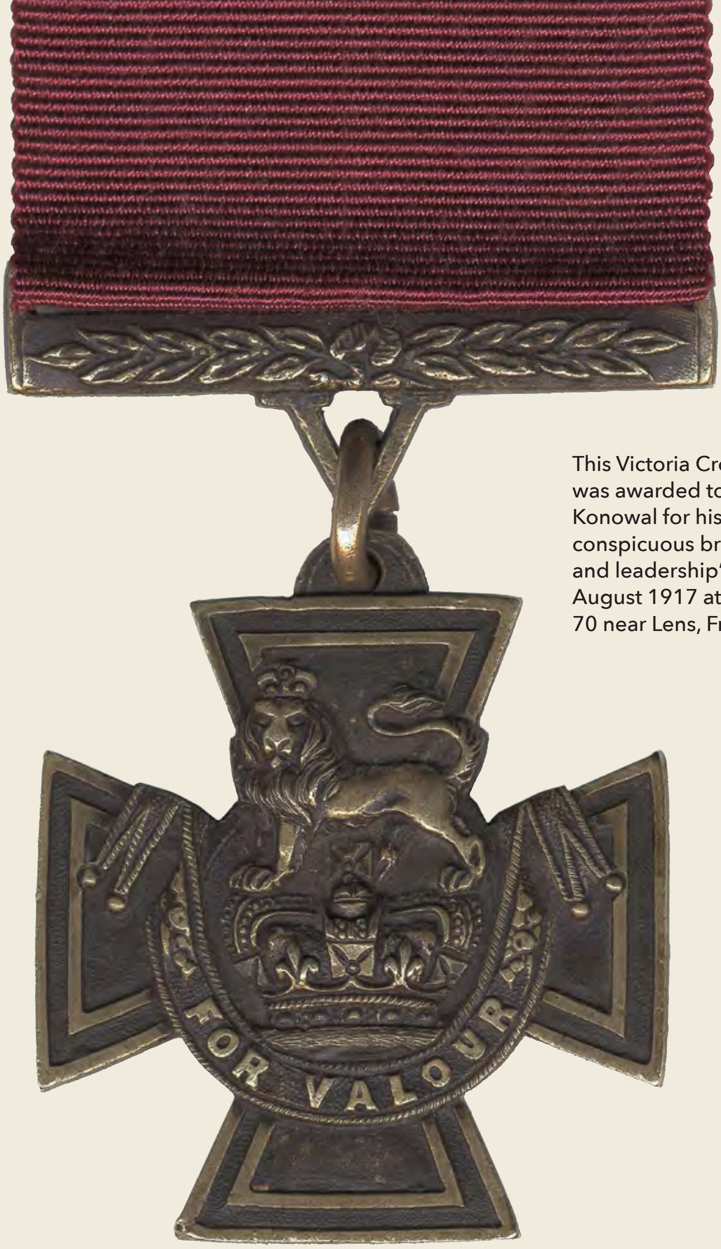
One of the deadliest diseases in human history, the virus that caused the Spanish flu is related to the modern H1N1 strain. The 1918 virus killed about 2.5 per cent of those infected, compared to a more typical rate of 0.1 per cent for previous flu outbreaks. Named for the widespread death caused in Spain by an early wave of the disease, the virulent 1918 strain may have originated with a genetic shift in the flu virus in China. Many of the afflicted thought they simply had a cold, which progressed to the usual flu symptoms of fever, chills, aches, cough, congestion, and fatigue. Pneumonia often followed. The illness moved with grim speed – it wasn't uncommon for sufferers to be dead within a day of first showing symptoms. Unlike other epidemics, the Spanish flu was most deadly for those who were in good health and between about twenty and forty years old. The virus caused a reaction that seemed to turn healthy people's immune systems against them. Victims' lungs filled with bloody, frothy liquid, and their faces turned blue as they drowned in their own fluids, suffocating from a lack of oxygen. – ***Nancy Payne***

FOR VALOUR

Victoria Cross by the numbers

The Canadian Victoria Cross was unveiled in 2008.

The Victoria Cross (VC) is the highest military decoration in the British honours system and was previously presented to service members from Commonwealth countries. It was created by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert during the 1853–56 Crimean War and was first awarded in 1857. Each medal is made of bronze and bears the words "For Valour." Unlike previous military awards, the VC was intended to recognize gallantry regardless of military rank or social status; since 1907, VCs have been granted posthumously. Veterans Affairs Canada lists ninety-nine Canadian VC recipients, all for deeds committed before the end of the Second World War. In 1993 Canada created its own military honours system, including the Victoria Cross – inscribed with the Latin "*Pro Valore*" but not yet awarded. *— Phil Koch*



This Victoria Cross was awarded to Filip Konowal for his "most conspicuous bravery and leadership" in August 1917 at Hill 70 near Lens, France.

73

VCs awarded to Canadians for their actions during the First World War.

9

Canadians who received the Victoria Cross for their deeds during the 1917 Battle of Passchendaele in Belgium.

2

Canadian First World War fighter pilots who received the Victoria Cross – William Barker and William Bishop.

3

VC recipients who lived on Winnipeg's former Pine Street, which was renamed Valour Road in 1925 – Leo Clarke, Frederick Hall, and Robert Shankland.

17

The age of Thomas Ricketts of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment on October 14, 1918, when he earned his VC in combat near Ledeghem, Belgium.

LEFT: "VICTORIA CROSS ON WHITE", NATURAL RESOURCES CANADA, 2008. REPRODUCED WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES, 2018. RIGHT: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM

CHRISTOPHER MOORE

Thousands of Canadian veterans attend a ceremony at Westminster Hall in London, England, in 1936.

ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

The last end of the Great War?

Canadian war remembrances have been inspired, but connections to historical events transform when the living presence wanes.

Canada has had a good war — a good war memorial, I mean. Canada's commemoration of the centenary of the First World War struck me as successful, moving, and even thought-provoking.

Among the official events, the central one was surely the massive ceremony at Vimy Ridge, France, in April 2017. It attracted our Governor General and prime minister, huge crowds, live television coverage, and, to my eye, a mix of pride and sadness among Canadians who participated in or followed the anniversary.

Back home, broad networks of civic leaders, community organizations, veterans groups, and military-heritage foundations put together local observances, sent tour groups of young people to European battlefields, and launched educational endeavours.

Canada's historians have acquitted themselves well, too. Tim Cook had already published his authoritative, bestselling *Canadians Fighting the Great War* in 2007 and 2008. This magazine's own *Canada's Great War Album* made a notable contribution in 2014. An outpouring of detailed histories, such as *Capturing Hill 70*, on a lesser-known battle of 1917, and *The Greatest Victory*, on Canada's Hundred Days campaign of 1918, showcased the skills of our military historians. Maybe it is time to let go of the idea that Canadians neglect or scorn military history.

Other writers went beyond purely military history: Joan Sangster on the achievement of women's suffrage, in *One Hundred Years of Struggle*, Patrice Dutil and David MacKenzie on wartime politics, in *Embattled Nation: Canada's Wartime Election of 1917*, and those who studied other tensions the war caused in Canada.

Commemoration should make us think, not just salute. Ian McKay and Jamie Swift's *The Vimy Trap* attacked the idea that the Vimy battle was the real birthplace of the Canadian nation. Canada did something grim and remarkable at Vimy in 1917, but it was only because a Canadian nation already existed to raise and to send forth the army that fought there. *The Vimy Trap* was controversial, but to my mind it was persuasive and valuable.

A striking aspect of the commemoration was the attention given to the personal experiences of those who served Canada in the First World War. When carved on scores of war memorials in the 1920s, the phrase "Their names shall live forever more" must have seemed a desperate plea. A century on, it seems to have come true.

Archival work and digital technology have made the names and service histories of every Canadian who died in the war — as well as many who survived — readily available. In schools across Canada students researched the lives of individual young men and women who answered the call and never returned. On a scale never before attempted, such projects forged personal links between today's Canadians and those who experienced the First World War.

Yet I began to wonder, are we experiencing at last the end of the First World War?

For most of the twentieth century, that war's traumas were a living presence. The First World War led directly into the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War of the 1940s, with their profound impacts on Canada. The conscription crisis of 1917 inflamed French-English tensions for decades. The long struggle for veterans' benefits became central to debates about Canadian social policy. And for much of the twentieth century wounded, blinded, and shell-shocked veterans were vividly present, along with the orphaned and bereaved loved ones of the dead.

Canada still faces social challenges, culture clashes, and international crises. But their root causes no longer grow directly out of the First World War. By now, few Canadians directly remember the people of that war.

I was moved by the special connections Canadians of 2014–18 made with the people and events of 1914–18, but I wondered whether those searches for personal links mark the waning of the First World War in Canadian consciousness.

Can the First World War finally cease to be a living, traumatic presence? Perhaps it is ready to join the Napoleonic Wars or the War of 1812, which are still important and fascinating landmarks but are no longer felt so viscerally.

Observances of historical centenaries have power. However, even profound events gradually pass into history. It is worth marking and measuring how and when that happens.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *Canada's History* magazine.

Private Frank Maynard during military training.

Discovering the details

Public records and family letters allow us to tell nuanced stories about Great War combatants.

Exactly one week before he was killed in action at Vimy Ridge, France, Frank Maynard expressed optimism about prospects for the Allied campaign, and for himself. In his last known letter to family in Victoria, British Columbia, he wrote: "Looks as if I may be home for Christmas yet."

Maynard was my wife's uncle — her father's older brother. I tell his story not because he was a great warrior; he lasted barely three weeks at the front and was a lowly private. Nor was he noteworthy for his social status; he was the son of missionary parents of humble origins and meagre resources. And he had no great accomplishments apart from school prizes for athletics; he was only a teenager, after all. Indeed, no claim is made here that Frank was more heroic or more deserving of attention than his many trench-mates.

In fact, that's the point. Even though Maynard was not a prominent person, we know a great deal about him due to the systematic collection and analysis of family memorabilia and military records. If we can evoke a nuanced portrait of him more than one hundred years after his death, it is similarly possible to memorialize many others, perhaps including your Great War forebears. I can assure you that you will value, and may be deeply moved by, the discoveries you make.

Whether Maynard actually believed his bravado about Christmas is hard to gauge. Certainly he supported the Allied cause unreservedly. In December 1915, just four days after becoming eligible to serve on his eighteenth birthday, he enlisted in the newly organized Vancouver Island Timber Wolves, the 103rd Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

After arriving in Britain with the Timber Wolves at the end of July 1916, Maynard spent the next several months scheming about how he might undo his "rough luck" and get to France, despite the reluctance of senior commanders to send teenagers to the front. Having failed to win entry into his brother's unit, the signallers, Maynard undertook training for the bombing section. It was comprised of small teams of fighters who entered enemy trenches at night, tossing grenade-like bombs and engaging in hand-to-hand combat. Not surprisingly, they were also known as the "Suicide Club," a fact Maynard reported almost offhandedly in a letter: "Of course it will be pretty dangerous work…, but it is very interesting." His intellectual fascination with his work must have offered cold comfort to his parents.

Maynard did eventually get to practise his Suicide Club skills. He reached France just before Christmas 1916, having been reassigned to the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifle Battalion (2nd CMR). After much shuffling about, he made his way to the front late in March 1917, and, in a letter to his mother, he described an encounter with the enemy: "I have been in a real scrap for the first time. We made a bombing raid on Fritz's trenches & … inflicted a great many casualties on him & retired to our own trenches without any difficulty." This raid appears to correspond to one reported in the 2nd CMR War Diary for the wee hours of March 31, 1917.

The 2nd CMR War Diary also gives a clue as to how Maynard may have died. On Easter Monday the Canadian Corps had famously and efficiently achieved the goals set for it in the attack on Vimy Ridge. The next day, Tuesday, April 10, 1917, was largely given over to consolidating gains, with only one incident explicitly recorded as resulting in casualties. During a heavy snowstorm at 4:00 p.m., the diary

COURTESY OF THE REIMER FAMILY

reports, “strong patrols were sent out [and] severe casualties resulted from rifle and machine gun fire.” The war diary expresses some pride that, notwithstanding heavy enemy fire, both killed and wounded were brought in.

This solicitousness for casualties may explain why Maynard was never an unknown soldier. His body is interred at the meticulously maintained La Chaudiere Military Cemetery near Vimy, where 154 Canadians were buried.

The Maynard family is fortunate that someone from an earlier generation took pains to collect and to transcribe Frank’s letters home. Yet something similar probably happened in many families, along with the safeguarding of photo albums and the family Bible. The key for the researcher is to find the branch of the family that inherited the memorabilia. Ask around and, if necessary, track down “lost” branches of the family. Someone probably has these treasures, and these days it’s a simple matter to make high-quality copies once they’re located.

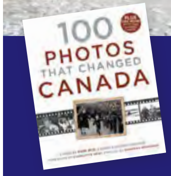
The first place to look for digitized CEF records is Library and Archives Canada (LAC), which offers online access to personnel files of individual soldiers (and nursing sisters) and the war diaries of operational units such as battalions. The personnel file includes the attestation paper and all manner of documents relating to an individual’s medical history, pay, allowances, honours, promotions, and transfers. The war diaries are unlikely to mention individuals by name, but, as in Maynard’s case, the detailed accounts of daily operations may give clues about a soldier’s activities on a given date.

If the person you are researching died in service, bear in mind that the Commonwealth War Graves Commission provides a searchable database of the final resting places of those whose remains have been identified.

A column like this cannot provide a thorough guide to researching military records. Read the First World War pages at LAC’s website for an overview. Follow promising online links at Cyndi’s List. And look for printed guides to military records by authorities such as Simon Fowler and William Spencer in the United Kingdom and Kenneth G. Cox and Glenn Wright in Canada, always checking whether the record classes being discussed have been digitized in the interim.

I’ll let Frank have the final word as to how life in the trenches changed him in one respect, with two excerpts from letters to his parents. The first was sent from England on October 22, 1916: “I am thoroughly disgusted with the ‘Prohibition Act.’ … Why on earth couldn’t they have absolutely forbidden the manufacture of whiskey etc.” The second was sent from France on March 26, 1917: “I know you won’t like the idea of me drinking rum, but I can tell you it is the one thing that keeps us well, & in fact I don’t know what we would do without it.”

Paul Jones, a former publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogist.



RAIL TRAVEL TOURS

ALL ABOARD WITH CANADA’S HISTORY & RAIL TRAVEL TOURS

FIRST FIVE BOOKINGS get a free copy of the award-winning *100 Photos that Changed Canada*

CALL Rail Travel Tours
TOLL FREE: **1-866-704-3528** or visit
CanadasHistory.ca/NorthernOntario

CANADA’S HISTORY

ONLY 30 SPACES RESERVE NOW!

Northern Ontario Winter Rails

Friday February 15 – Monday February 18, 2019

Roundtrip from Sudbury, this 4-day, 3-night tour combines a roundtrip winter journey on the last Rail Diesel Car service in Canada with local history and spectacular winter scenery. The package will include a Friday night welcome dinner at Sudbury’s Don Cherry’s Restaurant, Sudbury Wolves OHL game at the Sudbury Downtown Arena, 2 days of travel on the only year-round passenger train on the Canadian Pacific Railway known as VIA Rail’s Sudbury – White River train, 2 nights stay in Sudbury and 1 night in White River, presentations on the train and at the hotels, most meals and more.

Per Person Double Occupancy $795.00. Per Single $945 or contact us for our trip in April to Halifax for the connection this community has to the sinking of the RMS *Titanic*.

First World War re-enactors with a 1913 Ford Model T at the Halifax Citadel National Historic Site. The historic site commemorates the Great War with several exhibits.

Beyond the trenches

Remembering the Great War through historic sites on the home front.

Most Canadians have at least heard of Vimy Ridge — that famous battle in France where, in April 1917, all four Canadian divisions fought together for the first time; where, over three days of fighting, 10,602 Canadian troops were wounded or killed in action; where, some argue, Canada came of age on the international stage.

Many thousands of Canadians have visited the Vimy Memorial in France since it opened in 1936. It's the most famous of our overseas war memorials, and one of only two Canadian National Historic Sites found outside of Canada; the other marks the location of Beaumont-Hamel, France, where the Newfoundland Regiment was nearly wiped out on July 1, 1916, the opening day of the Battle of the Somme.

Both historic sites are reminders of the sacrifices made by citizens a century ago. Yet you do not have to travel to Europe to find evidence of that. Many Canadian cities and towns have local monuments dedicated to the war dead. And then there are the National Historic Sites that offer opportunities to explore the Great War in more depth.

As Canadians mark the end of the "war to end all wars," here are some national historic sites on the home front that enrich and enhance our knowledge of the First World War. *– Mark Collin Reid*

PARKS CANADA/DALE WILSON

Clockwise from top left: Aerial view of the Halifax Citadel; Signal Hill National Historic Site in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador; Bethune House National Historic Site in Gravenhurst, Ontario.

PARKS CANADA

Halifax Citadel National Historic Site

Halifax, Nova Scotia's capital, was founded in 1749 by the British as a bulwark against the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. Following the Seven Years' War, it remained a centre for naval power, and, during the Great War, it was a key embarkation point for both soldiers and *matériel* bound for the Western Front.

Thousands of soldiers passed through this port on the way to the war. Too many of them would never see Canada again.

Visitors to Halifax can relive the experiences of Great War soldiers at Halifax Citadel National Historic Site, located atop Citadel Hill in the heart of the city.

The Citadel housed many soldiers in its barracks and also acted as a command centre and even a prison camp during the Great War. At the Army Museum Halifax Citadel, visitors can explore trench art, see artifacts from the two world wars, and tour a full-sized simulated trench. As well, a nurses' tent offers a glimpse of front-line medicine. This Remembrance Day will feature a special memorial ceremony as well as a twenty-one-gun salute by the 1st Field Artillery Regiment.

Bethune House National Historic Site

In China, Norman Bethune is perhaps the most famous Canadian ever to have lived. Yet he remains somewhat unknown in his home country. The Gravenhurst, Ontario, native enlisted in 1914 with the No. 2 Field Ambulance and served as a stretcher bearer. Wounded by shrapnel in Belgium at the Second Battle of Ypres, he was eventually sent home, and by 1916, he had graduated with a medical degree.

Re-enlisting with the Royal Navy, Bethune headed back to the war, where he served as a medical officer. The conflict greatly influenced his later career; after witnessing so much carnage, Bethune dedicated his life to providing timely front-line care to the wounded.

Early in his medical career, Bethune helped to improve surgical tools and was an innovator in thoracic surgery. During this period, he increasingly favoured socialized medicine and eventually joined the Communist Party of Canada.

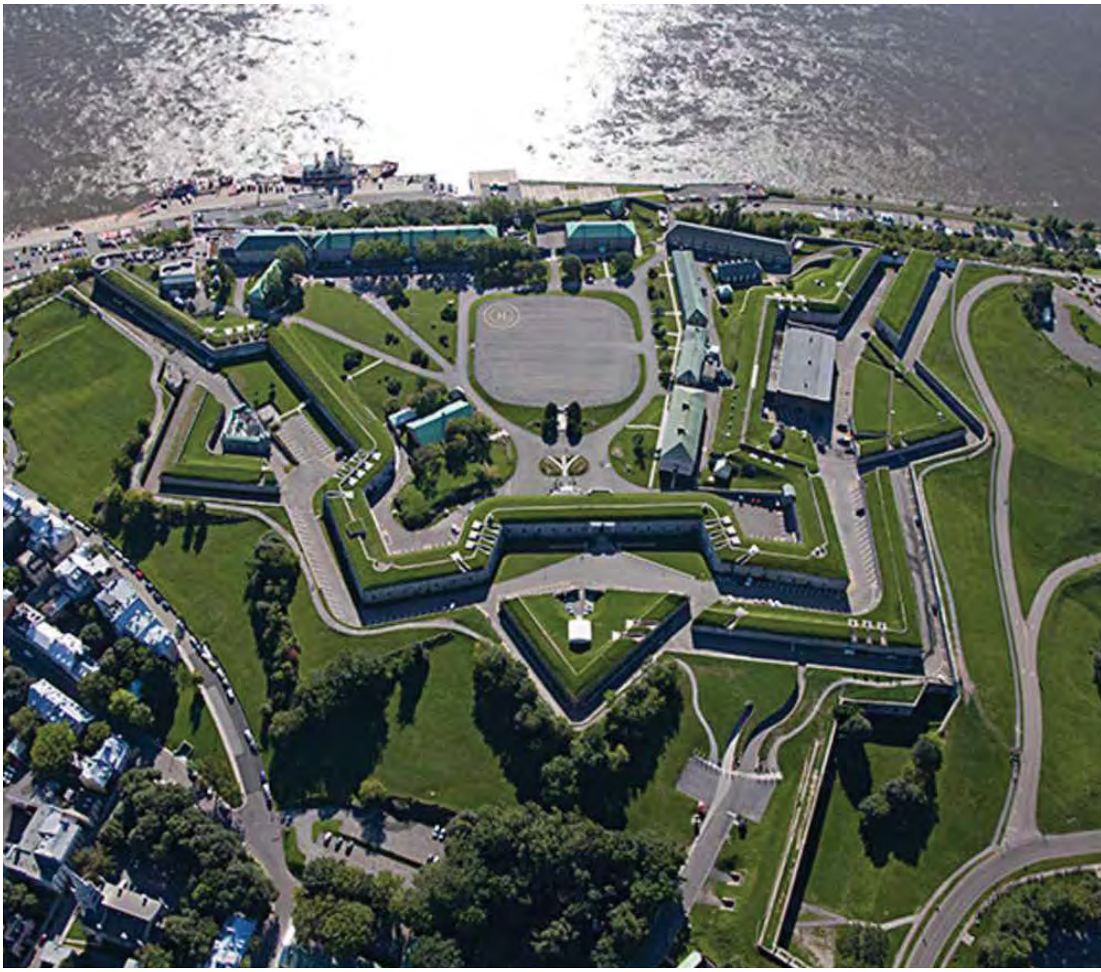
An advocate for workers and the oppressed, Bethune in 1936 volunteered with left-wing loyalist forces in the Spanish Civil War, where he pioneered the mobile blood transfusion unit.

Later in the 1930s, Bethune travelled to China to provide health care and aid to Communist revolutionary forces. He died from blood poisoning he contracted while operating on a Communist soldier. In 1973, the federal government purchased Bethune House, Bethune's childhood home. The Victorian-era home features artifacts and images that help to paint a picture of this First World War veteran — today commemorated as a martyr and a hero in China.

Signal Hill National Historic Site

Signal Hill looms over St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador — both literally

Above: Carleton Martello Tower National Historic Site, Saint John, New Brunswick.



Right: Aerial view of Quebec Citadel National Historic Site, home of the Royal 22e Régiment.

JOHN STANTON, TOURISM QUEBEC

and figuratively — in terms of its presence throughout the community's history.

St. John's was a vital strategic location for shipping and naval operations during both world wars.

The city's inner harbour offered effective protection to Allied fleets and shipping, while the entrance to the harbour, known as the Narrows, was heavily fortified against attacks from the sea.

During the First World War, Newfoundland was an independent dominion.

Newfoundlanders immediately rushed to enlist following the outbreak of the war. On October 3, 1914, the "First Five Hundred" recruits gathered at the docks to board the steamer SS *Florizel* and to head for the front. Many of these men were wounded or killed on July 1, 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme.

During the war, the entrance to the harbour was defended by a contingent from the paramilitary Legion of Frontiersmen.

The historic site today offers a journey through the centuries-old history of the Newfoundland Regiment (later the Royal Newfoundland Regiment) via military re-enactments of the late-1700s, War of 1812, and Great War eras.

Carleton Martello Tower National Historic Site

This stone tower was built during the War of 1812 to protect Saint John, New Brunswick, from American attack.

Used as an observation post and garrison, as well as to house military stores during that conflict, the tower had outlived its effectiveness by the time of the First World War. However, it was eventually put into use as a prison for military deserters; approximately fifty soldiers of the 69th Battalion were detained there between November 1915 and April 1916, prior to the battalion's departure for the Western Front.

Quebec Citadel National Historic Site

Visitors to this imposing fortress can explore the rich history of the Royal 22e Régiment, founded in 1914 as the 22nd Battalion, a unit in which French Canadians could serve in their native language. Le Musée Royal 22e Régiment features a permanent exhibition titled Je Me Souviens, which explores the regiment's history and its ongoing legacy.

A highlight is the Honour and Memory Medals Gallery, which features a collection of medals, orders, and decorations awarded to members of the famous "Van Doos."

The citadel, known as the Gibraltar of North America, was built in the early nineteenth century by the British to protect Quebec from a possible American invasion. Following the Great War, it became the official home of the 22e Régiment, and an official residence of the

Governor General of Canada. During the Second World War, it was the site of a top secret 1943 meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, American President Franklin Roosevelt, and Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

At this meeting, plans were set into motion for the invasion of Nazi-occupied France and discussions were held about creating an atomic bomb.

Parliament Buildings National Historic Site

Canada's seat of government doesn't seem, at first glance, to have a direct connection to the Great War. However, in February 1916, after fire raged through the original Parliament buildings, some Canadians feared the blaze had been the work of German sabotage.

Only the library was saved from the catastrophe. Reconstruction began in September 1916, but, due to materials shortages related to the war effort, it took more than four years to complete construction.

In 1927, Governor General Viscount Willingdon dedicated the new Peace Tower — a monument to Canada's war dead that features a fifty-three-bell carillon. Inside the tower is the Memorial Chamber, where visitors can find the seven Books of Remembrance.

They contain the names of all Canadians who, since Confederation, have died while serving their country. Each day at 11:00 a.m. there is a ceremonial turning of the page, revealing new names of the fallen.

Cave and Basin National Historic Site

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Canada — eager to fill the prairies with immigrant farmers — actively courted central and eastern Europeans to move to Canada.

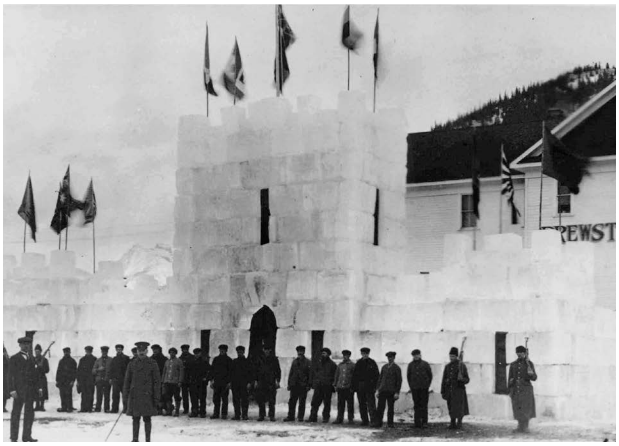
However, in the wake of the declaration of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, newcomers from the Central Powers nations soon fell under suspicion. Soon, some of these "enemy aliens" were arrested and placed into internment camps around the country.

There were a total of four camps that operated in the Rocky Mountains — at Banff and Jasper in Alberta, and Revelstoke and Yoho in British Columbia. The Banff camp, at what's now Cave and Basin National Historic Site, opened in November 1915 and featured several permanent structures, including an army barracks. The interned men were forced to work on a host of projects, including bridge building, quarrying stone, and cutting trails. They also helped to build the highway that runs between Banff and Lake Louise, Alberta. The camp was closed in 1917.

In 2008, Canada announced a $10 million grant to acknowledge the internments during the First World War.

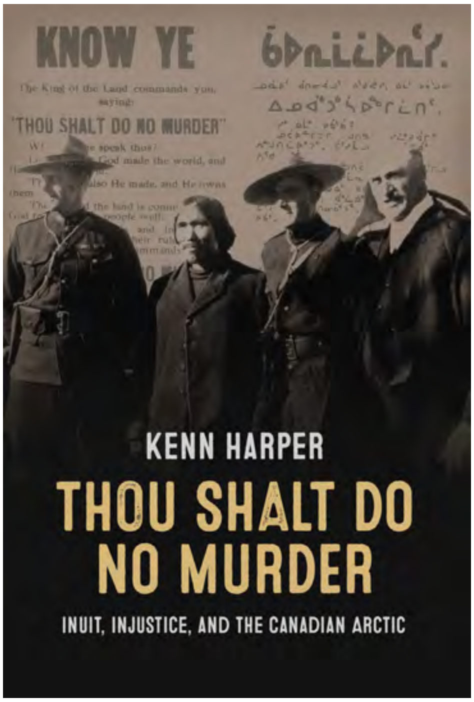
Today, visitors can explore a permanent exhibit dedicated to the history of these interned citizens.

Above: The library is the only section of the original Parliament Building that survived the fire of 1916.



Left: Interned aliens stand before an ice palace built for a winter carnival in Banff, Alberta, circa 1916–1917.

PARKS CANADA, ARCHIVES OF ALBERTA


KNOW YE
"THOU SHALT DO NO MURDER"
KENN HARPER
THOU SHALT DO NO MURDER
INUIT, INJUSTICE, AND THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

SNOW BLINDNESS

Thou Shalt Do No Murder: Inuit, Injustice, and the Canadian Arctic

by Kenn Harper
Nunavut Arctic College Media,
452 pages, $38.95

In 1923, three Inuit men were put on trial at Pond Inlet, on Baffin island, for the killing of *qallunaat* (white) trader Robert Janes. This story is not widely known outside the North, but it has fascinated me ever since I discovered Shelagh D. Grant's book *Arctic Justice* over a decade ago.

Kenn Harper has been gripped by this history for much longer and has produced a hefty tome entitled *Thou Shalt Do No Murder: Inuit, Injustice, and the Canadian Arctic*.

Harper has lived in the Arctic for fifty years, working as a teacher, historian, linguist, and businessman. He speaks Inuktitut and is the author of the bestselling *Give Me My Father's Body* (recently republished as *Minik: The New York Eskimo* and optioned for film). He first heard of the Pond Inlet trial in the 1970s, shortly after he moved north. It is clear both from the text and from his bibliography that Harper has immersed himself in this history via many hours spent with Inuit elders and much time in archives.

One of those elders, Jimmy Etuk, was alive when the killing and the trial took place. It is Etuk who begins the book in gripping style. His "speech was volcanic," Harper tells us, as Etuk launches into the tale of Robert Janes' descent into apparent madness and the circumstances that apparently forced Nuqallaq and two other Inuit men to end his life.

After this dynamic beginning, Harper switches to a more traditional social and economic history of early whaling, European-Canadian exploration, and the imposition of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. For one hundred pages, Etuk and other Inuit fade into the background, as the focus becomes almost entirely the *qallunaat* male representatives of these histories: Joseph-Elzéar Bernier, William Duval, Captain Henry Toke Munn, and, of course, Robert Janes.

Robert Janes' apparent descent into madness led Nuqallaq and two other Inuit men to end his life.

This section sets up the dynamic of "gentleman rivals" and their distrust of one another, and it introduces the threats, sexual jealousy, greed, cultural clashes, climatic conditions, and mental illness that are the ingredients in this stewing pot.

The promise of the book — the trial — and the author's unique Inuit access and cultural and linguistic insights, however, almost disappear from view. There are even times when the *qallunaat* records seem to be taken at face value, despite the fact that with Harper's background he had an opportunity to read against the grain and to contextualize them more.

There are certainly bright spots in this section. Harper's examination of language — Inuktitut, English, and French — and its importance in these encounters is fascinating. He is also able to provide useful background about Inuit practices regarding sex and kinship ties at the time.

Harper does an excellent job painting a balanced picture of Nuqallaq and Janes from both *qallunaat* records and Inuit oral histories. It is easy in a narrative rife with hypocrisy and sham trials for a person like Nuqallaq to be shown simplistically as a victim, but Harper resists this urge. Neither Janes nor Nuqallaq invite much sympathy: Both were obstreperous and physically abused their wives. (This was one major sticking point for me in the book. Harper writes, "One wonders how Inuutiq, the acquiescent husband, felt" about his wife being beaten by Janes. My immediate thought was: How did *she* feel about it?)

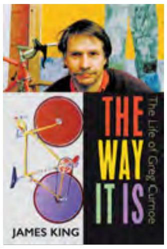
Through the depth and breadth of his sources, Harper shows that both men were victims not only of their own shortcomings but also of the larger forces of history. *Thou Shalt Do No Murder* leaves the impression that Canadian sovereignty and the "economic enslavement" of the Inuit — as Munn wrote regarding the approach of Hudson's Bay Company trader Ralph Parsons — were more important than actual justice in Pond Inlet.

Reviewed by **Danielle Metcalfe-Chenail**, author of several books including *Polar Winds: A Century of Flying the North* (Dundurn, 2014) and editor of *In This Together: Fifteen Stories of Truth and Reconciliation* (Brindle & Glass, 2016).

WALKING AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The Way It Is: The Life of Greg Curnoe

by James King
Dundurn, 392 pages, $45



"What if daily life in Canada is boring??" asks Canadian painter Greg Curnoe in a stamped-letters, watercolour, and gouache piece from 1987. In Curnoe's restlessly inventive hands, it never was. The London, Ontario-based Curnoe died in 1992 at age fifty-five in a biking accident that cut short a creative life marked by a deep-felt fusion of art and everyday existence. Thoroughly researched, though sometimes dryly expressed, a new biography by Hamilton-based writer James King paints a picture of a complex, often contradictory artist and man.

A passionate regionalist, Curnoe rejected what he saw as the myopic metropolitanism of Toronto and put down deep roots in his hometown of London. He was fiercely, almost obsessively anti-American. At the same time, he was intellectually open to international and historic influences, drawing on European artists such as Henri Matisse and Marcel Duchamp.

Art critic Gary Michael Dault called Curnoe a "walking autobiography," and his work often focused on the minute and mundane details of his own life. But he could also be emotionally elusive.

He took loud, obstreperous stances against the official art establishment — and he succeeded in setting up Canadian Artists' Representation, an organization that still advocates for artists today — but his rebellion sometimes comes off as knee-jerk contrarianism. Curnoe's working-class identification was partly an affectation, King suggests, and, like many male artists coming of age in the 1950s, his progressive politics did not extend to gender roles.

King, who has also written on David Milne and Lawren Harris, charts Curnoe's life chronologically, packing in colour illustrations on thick, high-gloss paper that make this a (literally) heavy book.

The artist had a happy, modestly middle-class childhood, became a bit of a misfit adolescent, and then famously flunked out of the Ontario College of Art. "I didn't fail OCA. OCA failed me," Curnoe declared.

Returning to London, he set up a studio and proceeded to become an artist, through hard work but also some self-conscious posing. "When attending an opening, he chose deliberately outlandish, loud clothing to call attention to himself as different from others," King writes. He also settled down into family life, marrying Sheila Curnoe (née Thompson) and becoming father to three children. In the 1970s, Curnoe got seriously into cycling. Bikes, with their "stripped-down relationship between form and function," appealed to him and soon became a recurring motif in his painting.

Curnoe's art was marked by these kinds of faithful, long-running themes, as well as by periodic reinventions. Sheila had often complained about being his model, for example, and in the 1980s Curnoe used himself as a model for a series of unsparing self-portraits that responded to charges by feminist critics that he was objectifying women.

While there are pop-like elements on the surface of some of Curnoe's paintings, King is rightly wary about classifying him as a pop artist. The larger arc of his work veered toward conceptualism, with its concern for issues of representation and language. Curnoe was also inspired by the anarchistic spirit of Dada. In 1962 he helped to organize the first neo-Dada "happening" in Canadian art, complete with a "chance sculpture" meant to collapse under the weight of attendees' winter coats — which is about as Canadian as it gets.

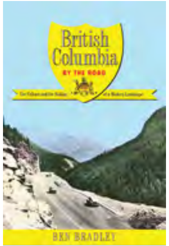
King is warmly sympathetic to his subject, describing Curnoe's gregarious charm, but he certainly relates enough anecdotes to suggest that Curnoe could be moody, controlling, and difficult. The biography is detailed and comprehensive but too often lists off odd facts — such as that Curnoe picked out Sheila's shoes for an art opening, and they pinched her feet — without giving much context. In *The Way It Is*, we glimpse Curnoe's personality in brief, vivid flashes but never quite see him whole.

Reviewed by **Alison Gillmor**, a Winnipeg journalist and art historian.

ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS

British Columbia by the Road: Car Culture and the Making of a Modern Landscape

by Ben Bradley
UBC Press, 309 pages, $34.95

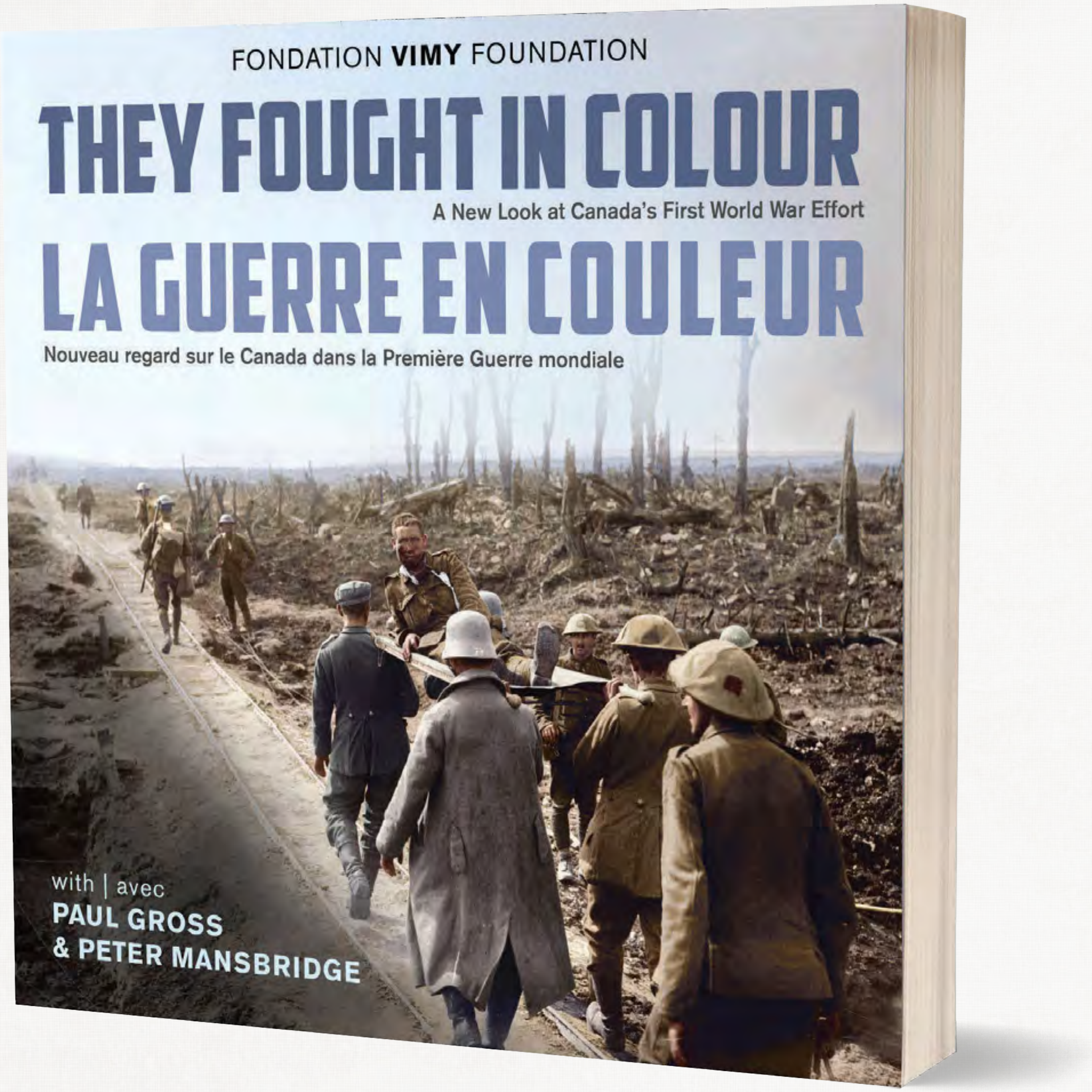


The geography of British Columbia's Interior, with its mountains, valleys, and passes, has posed many problems for road builders over the years. But geography is not the only factor; politics have played a role as well.

The desires of various governments to promote this or to discount that have helped to dictate not only where roads are placed but also what has appeared next to those roads.

In *British Columbia by the Road*, Ben Bradley provides numerous examples of the ways government policies have shaped the routes that are travelled today. Along the way, he gives readers repeated lessons on Fordism, which he identifies as the mid-twentieth-century "political-economic 'moment' that saw the state take an active role in regulating, stabilizing, and sometimes stimulating the economy."

This is not a comprehensive history of highways in province, or even in the province's interior. Bradley gives the most attention to two major routes — the Hope-Princeton Highway and the Big Bend Highway. The Hope-Princeton, which opened in 1949, remains one of the key links between the Lower Mainland and the Okanagan Valley — although its importance has been diminished in recent decades by the Coquihalla Highway.


FONDATION VIMY FOUNDATION
THEY FOUGHT IN COLOUR
A New Look at Canada's First World War Effort
LA GUERRE EN COULEUR
Nouveau regard sur le Canada dans la Première Guerre mondiale
with | avec
PAUL GROSS
& PETER MANSBRIDGE

A photographic exploration of Canada's First World War experience, presented for the first time in full, vibrant colour, with complementary essays by some of our country's leading public figures including Margaret Atwood, Tim Cook, Charlotte Gray, Paul Gross, Peter Mansbridge, and many others.

"Canada's Great War comes vividly to life in this superb collection of colourized photographs of the battlefield and the homefront. The texts too add much to this nation's saga of mobilization, sacrifice, and victory. This book is one to pore over again and again."
— J.L. Granatstein, author of *The Greatest Victory: Canada's One Hundred Days, 1918*

AVAILABLE FROM YOUR FAVOURITE BOOKSELLER

DUNDURN

THE VIMY FOUNDATION
LA FONDATION VIMY

#TheyFoughtInColour
vimyfoundation.ca

Throughout its existence, the Hope-Princeton Highway has provided a gateway to Manning Provincial Park, a destination that was given a high priority by government. Signs of civilization, such as telephone lines, were kept away from the road. After a forest fire, the park's boundaries were extended so that eastbound highway travellers would see greenery before they saw the devastation caused by the flames.

Another provincial park, Hamber, was many times larger than Manning — but it was only accessible by the miserable Big Bend Highway, was not as scenic as Manning, and was under pressure because of the government's interest in getting at the resources within its boundaries. With the eastern half of that highway destined to go under water after the Mica Dam was completed in 1973, the park was reduced to about two per cent of its previous size.

History was a factor in highway development, with attractions such as Barkerville and Fort Steele refurbished and reshaped with highway traffic in mind. And then there is Three Valley Gap, which is impossible to miss when driving along the Trans-Canada Highway. It is not as historic as it looks and was created with tourist traffic in mind.

History has also been marked, since 1958, with signs that promote stops of interest along major routes. These signs, located at convenient pullouts, primarily commemorated the accomplishments of white males, although the more recent expansion of the sign program has helped to bring more diversity.

British Columbia by the Road is a fascinating book and provides enough background information to settle many an argument. It is, however, not quite as expansive as its title might suggest. By limiting its coverage to the southern Interior, it ignores the Lower Mainland, Vancouver Island, and the province's North — all areas with interesting stories about highways.

It also appears that Bradley tried to bridge the gap between academic and popular writing. Too often his book reads like a thesis on Fordism, with highways and provincial parks used to prove key points. Unfortunately, the many references to Fordist actions take away from the narrative.

That said, the amount of research that went into this volume is as breathtaking as the views from Skagit Bluffs on the Hope-Princeton Highway. *British Columbia by the Road* is a fine history that helps to explain why we see what we see as we drive in the province's interior. It's well worth reading before your next drive.

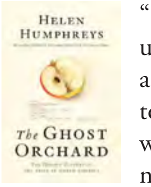
Reviewed by **Dave Obee**, the publisher of the *Victoria Times Colonist* and a member of the board of Canada's History Society.

MORE BOOKS

The Ghost Orchard: The Hidden History of the Apple in North America

by Helen Humphreys

HarperCollins, 268 pages, $29.99



"The past is all around us if we look carefully and can figure out a way to read it," writes award-winning novelist and non-fiction writer Helen Humphreys. In *The Ghost Orchard: The Hidden History of the Apple in North America* she is inspired by the taste of wild apples found outside a log cabin near her home in Kingston, Ontario, to seek their largely unknown origins in terms of Indigenous peoples, women, and artists. This takes her beyond the recorded history of the apple, which, she says, "is the history of white settlement during the nineteenth century."

In addition to gorgeous historical coloured plates created by seed-catalogue illustrators and botanical artists, the book brims with interest and captivating prose. An entire chapter is dedicated to poet Robert Frost, who planted an orchard at the age of eighty-three, perhaps in memory of his "glorious friendship" and "talks-walking" with the British poet Edward Thomas. Another chapter opens with a description of every apple variety in the recreated orchard at John A. Macdonald's Bellevue House in Kingston. A "Glossary of Lost Apples" at the end of the book highlights varieties of First Nations or Canadian origin.

A chapter entitled "The Indian Orchard" explores Indigenous and settler involvements in the spread of the fruit, including distinct varieties produced by Indigenous peoples. Meanwhile, "Ann Jessop" tells of the Quaker preacher known as "Apple Annie" for her

BOOKS WE LOVE PUBLISHING IS PROUD TO PRESENT THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL BRIDES
If these Brides are willing to risk it all, they could find the fresh start they seek and make history in the process.
150 YEARS IN THE MAKING, CANADA HAS A HISTORY RICH WITH STORIES OF THE UNBREAKABLE HUMAN SPIRIT. THESE ARE JUST A FEW.
bwlpublishing.ca
Funded by the Government of Canada | Canada

distribution of diverse scions she'd carried back from Britain in the late 1700s, including the crisp, juicy White Winter Pearmain that starts Humphreys' quest.

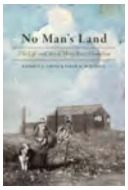
The beauty, fragrance, and fruit of apple trees lend poignancy to our relationship with them, as does the similarity of their lifespan to that of a person — around one hundred years at best, notes Humphreys. Her book was written as a close friend, a poet, neared death, and Humphreys' father died soon after.

It's a sociological and an agricultural account, detailing the reduction of over seventeen thousand varieties at their nineteenth-century peak to fewer than one hundred commercial varieties today; it's also a moving meditation on memory and loss, friendship and family, the bequest of art and writing, and what remains in absence — sometimes with only a single tree to point us back.

— *Mariianne Mays Wiebe*

No Man's Land: The Life and Art of Mary Riter Hamilto

by Kathryn A. Young and
Sarah M. McKinnon University of
Manitoba Press, 304 pages, $27.95



Even before the armistice that ended the First World War was signed, thousands of visitors made their way to the battlefields of Europe. Many made the journey in tribute to lives lost in the conflict — a pilgrimage to the places where their loved ones spent their final days. Others felt a sense of urgency to tour the front lines and to document the impact and destruction of war

In *No Man's Land: The Life and Art of Mary Riter Hamilton*, Kathryn A. Young and Sarah M. McKinnon provide a rich biography of one woman who was compelled to paint the battlefields in the immediate aftermath of the First World War.

Born in 1868 in Bruce County, Ontario, Hamilton was a Canadian artist who by the age of twenty-two had suffered her own personal tragedies with the death of her husband and a stillborn child. Without the domestic responsibilities that most women of this time faced, Hamilton was able to nurture her artistic talent, studying in European art schools, teaching, and hosting exhibitions both abroad and at home.

By 1918, Hamilton was an experienced artist and longed to return to Europe, where she had spent many years studying. She applied to the Canadian War Memorial Fund, only to have her request denied, as women were not allowed access to the front.

Undeterred, Hamilton eventually found support through the Amputation Club of British Columbia and received a commission to paint the battlefields of France and Belgium. For close to six years, she was one of few Canadian women to experience first-hand the destruction of the front lines — setting up her easel between shell holes and staying in abandoned huts on the battlefields.

100 YEARS LATER...

University of Toronto Press celebrates 100 years since the end of the First World War by curating a selection of new and past titles that remind us of our nation's history, courage, and sacrifice. Whether you're a history buff or merely curious, we have a celebrated collection of books for you.

A WEARY ROAD
SHELL SHOCK IN THE CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 1914–1918
MARK OSBORNE HUMPHRIES

A Weary Road
Shell Shock in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1918
by Mark Osborne Humphries

Utilizing archival research, including newly available medical records, Mark Osborne Humphries provides a compelling new history of war trauma as it was experienced, diagnosed, and treated by ordinary soldiers on the frontline.

New in Paperback

ANDREW IAROCCI
SHOESTRING SOLDIERS
THE 1st CANADIAN DIVISION AT WAR, 1914–1915

MERRY HELL
THE STORY OF THE 25th BATTALION
(NOVA SCOTIA REGIMENT)
Canadian Expeditionary Force
1914–1919
CAPTAIN ROBERT N CLEMENTS, MC
EDITED BY BRIAN DOUGLAS TENNYSON

ONE IN A THOUSAND
THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CAPTAIN EDDIE MCKAY, ROYAL FLYING CORPS
GRAHAM BROAD

utorontopress.com
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Advancing Knowledge

As time passed, Hamilton struggled with her finances, keeping her friends back in Canada on standby to sell off her artwork as needed. Lacking proper food and housing, she went through periods of poor health.

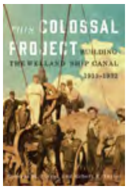
Despite these challenges, she was determined to keep going. She wrote, "To have been able to preserve some memory of what this consecrated corner of the world looked like after the storm is a great privilege, and all the reward that an artist could hope for." From 1919 to 1922, Hamilton produced over three hundred pieces documenting First World War battlefields; she gave most of them to Canada's national archives in 1926.

Building on the work of their late colleague Angela Davis, Young and McKinnon have written a rich biography that is deserving tribute to Mary Riter Hamilton. Their research is thorough and uses a variety of sources — including Hamilton's artwork, official and personal correspondence, newspaper articles, and exhibit reviews and critiques — to piece together her life. The book includes colour prints of some of Hamilton's best-known work.

No Man's Land is a fascinating read and an important contribution to our understanding of war and commemoration, the professionalization of female artists, and, more broadly, the experiences of women in the early twentieth century. — *Joanna Dawson*

This Colossal Project: Building the Welland Ship Canal, 1913-1932

by Roberta M. Styran and Robert R. Taylor
McGill-Queen's University Press,
368 pages, $44.95



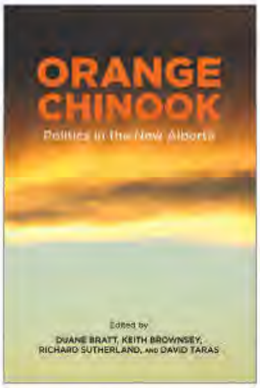
This Colossal Project captures the fascinating story behind construction of the Welland Ship Canal. Known as the "great ditch," this waterway connects Lake Ontario with Lake Erie, enabling ships to bypass Niagara Falls. Constructed over two decades, the canal is one of "the great engineering triumphs of modern times," write authors Roberta M. Styran and Robert R. Taylor.

My great-uncle Paul Moroz and grandfather William Moroz were labourers on the project. With Paul's encouragement, my grandfather, also known as "Gido," moved from Manitoba to Thorold, Ontario, with his wife and four children. Given the uncertainty of wartime and the Great Depression, he was relieved to find any job.

The work was dangerous and harsh, with smallpox outbreaks, accidents, inadequate wages and long hours. Nearly 140 souls perished during construction, often from fractured skulls or drowning. Great-uncle Paul nearly died when a wagon filled with rocks tipped over. It was a time when steel-toed boots and safety helmets were non-existent and language barriers hindered communication. When labourers — many of whom were immigrants and

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press

THE CHANGING FACES OF CANADA


ORANGE CHINOOK
Politics in the New Alberta
Edited by
DUANE BRATT, KEITH BROWNSEY, RICHARD SUTHERLAND, AND DAVID TARAS

978-1-77385-025-2 (Paperback)
JANUARY 2019

ORANGE CHINOOK:
Politics in the New Alberta

Edited by Duane Bratt, Keith Brownsey, Richard Sutherland, and David Taras

In 2015 the New Democratic Party won an unprecedented victory in Alberta. *Orange Chinook* is the first scholarly analysis of this election. It examines the legacy of the Progressive Conservative dynasty, the PC and NDP campaigns, polling, and online politics, providing context and setting the stage. Moving forward, it explores the NDP in power, drawing on Indigenous, urban, and rural perspectives and examining the role of women in Alberta politics. Bringing together Alberta's top political watchers, *Orange Chinook* is a fascinating, multifaceted analysis.

Guy St-Denis
The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock

978-1-77385-020-7 (Paperback)
NOVEMBER 2018

THE TRUE FACE OF SIR ISAAC BROCK

Guy St-Denis

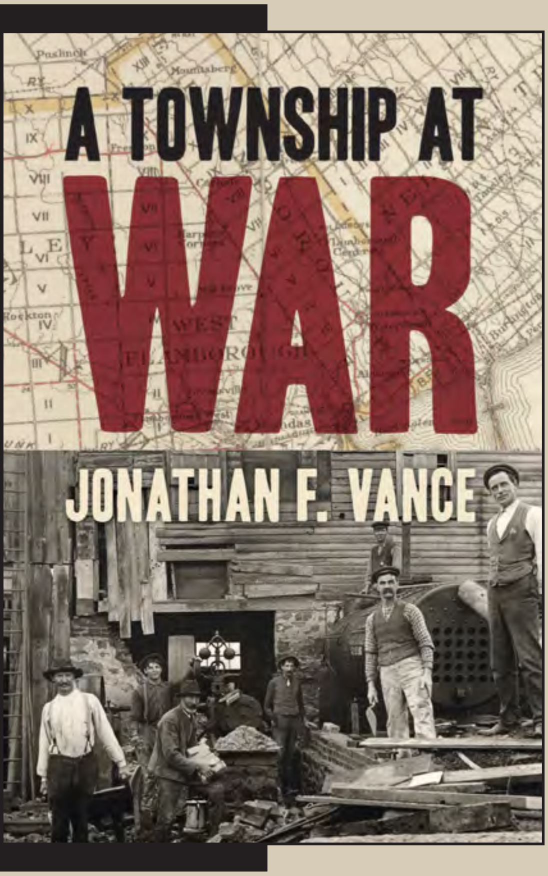
Major General Sir Isaac Brock is remembered as the Hero of Upper Canada for his defence of what is now Ontario during the War of 1812 and for his noble death at the battle of Queenston Heights. In the time since his death, Brock's likeness has been lost in a confusing array of portraits—most of which are misidentified or conceptual. With painstaking research and rigorous analysis, Guy St-Denis separates fact from fiction to reveal the true face of Sir Isaac Brock.

Alberta Government | Canada | Canada Council for the Arts | Conseil des Arts du Canada | @UCalgaryPress | press.ucalgary.ca

“All I know is, that war is part of me.”

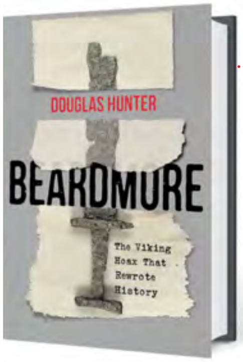
From rural Canadian field and farm to the slopes of Vimy Ridge and the mud of Passchendaele, this is a story of resilience and idealism, of violence and small-mindedness, of a world that has long disappeared and one that remains with us to this day.

OCTOBER 2018
Print | ebook | 275 pages | 6 x 9
978-1-77112-386-0
hardcover $34.99


A TOWNSHIP AT
WAR
JONATHAN F. VANCE

WLU PRESS
WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY PRESS
1-866-836-5551 | wlupress.wlu.ca
Available from:
UTP (Canada) 1-800-565-9523 | Ingram (USA) 1-800-961-8031

Revealing Canada’s History


DOUGLAS HUNTER
BEARDMORE
The Viking Hoax That Rewrote History

Beardmore
The Viking Hoax That Rewrote History
Douglas Hunter
Cloth, 520pp, 18 photos, 2 maps

How the sensational discovery of a Viking grave in northern Canada became a major museum controversy when it was exposed as a hoax.

MUSCLE ON WHEELS
Louise Armaindo and the High-Wheel Racers of Nineteenth-Century America
M. Ann Hall

Muscle on Wheels
Louise Armaindo and the High-Wheel Racers of Nineteenth-Century America
M. Ann Hall
Cloth, 240pp, 40 photos

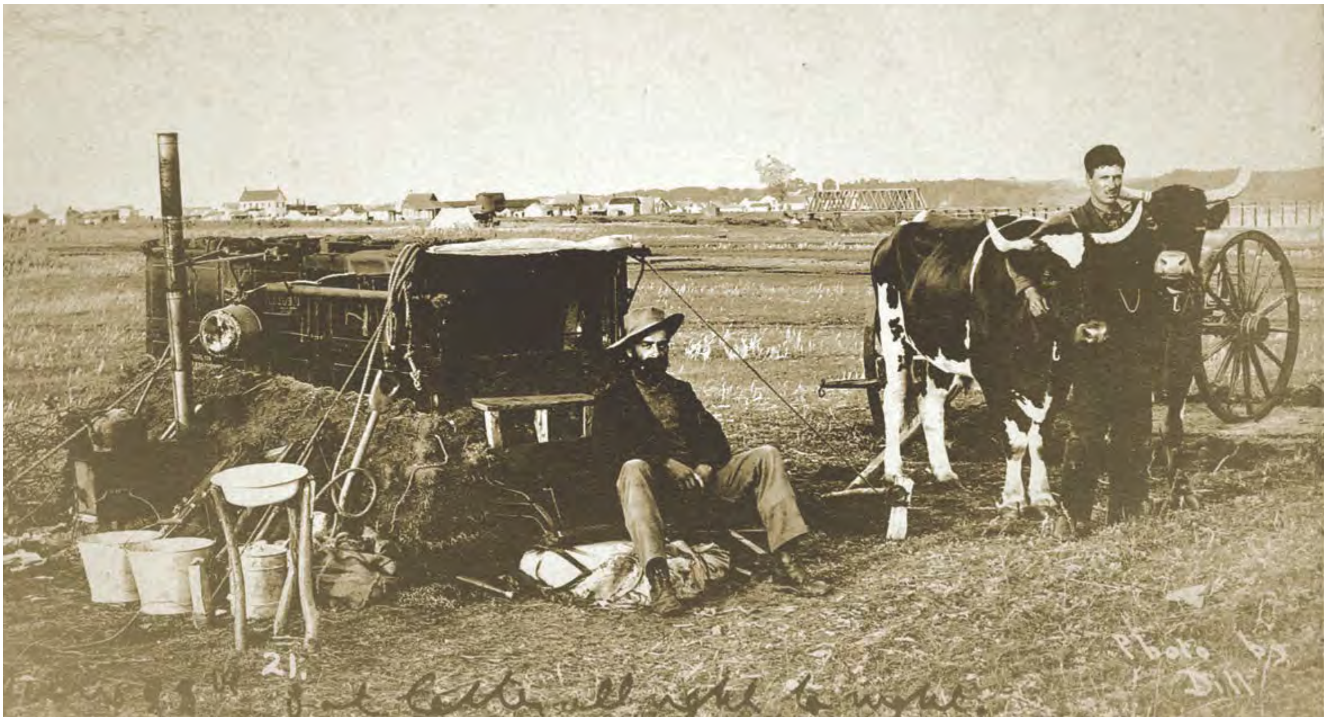
A fascinating account of high-wheel bicycle racing in the 19th century and one of Canada’s first women professional athletes.

SAFE HAVEN
The Wartime Letters of Ben Barman and Margaret Penrose, 1940–1943
Edited by RODERICK J. BARMAN

Safe Haven
The Wartime Letters of Ben Barman and Margaret Penrose, 1940–1943
Edited by Roderick J. Barman
Cloth, 252pp, 50 photos

Reveals the intimate day-to-day life of one Canadian household during the Second World War and the realities of evacuated British children, their families, and the people who hosted them.

McGill-Queen’s University Press | **mqup.ca** | Follow us on Facebook and Twitter @McGillQueensUP



AMBITIOUS NEWCOMERS Settlers camp with a team of oxen and an overturned wagon in 1906 just outside of Saskatoon. They would have found it beneficial to be living close to the city and its amenities, which by then included a hotel, a mounted police barracks, a dozen homes, and a rail line passing through. In *The Homesteaders* (University of Regina Press, 192 pages, $39.95) Sandra Rollings-Magnusson tells of the voyages made by immigrants to Saskatchewan, the hardships and labour they faced upon arrival, and the ways they built their homes and communities.

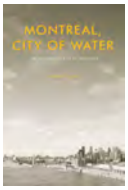
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF SASKATCHEWAN PAS R-A2016

illiterate — tried to improve conditions, they encountered hostility and prejudice.

In a book that is well-researched, with numerous maps and photos, the authors succeeded in transporting me back a century. Dedicated to "those thousands of unsung heroes who worked on the ground," *This Colossal Project* provided insight into my own family's history — which in turn resonates with some of the challenges immigrants still face in seeking a better tomorrow. — *Beverley Sawchuk*

Montreal, City of Water

by Michèle Dagenais
translated by Peter Feldstein
UBC Press, 254 pages, $29.95



Modern Montrealers know that they live on an island, but they may fail to perceive how ubiquitous water is in their daily lives. "The water is very much there, under the concrete and asphalt," writes Michèle Dagenais, a professor of history at the Université de Montréal.

In *Montreal, City of Water*, Dagenais unveils a grand narrative where water itself becomes a historical actor. It's a struggle between nature and the humans that try to tame, profit, enjoy, and understand it.

A pattern quickly emerges: As soon as a new technology or scientific idea takes hold, either the environment circumvents it or understandings change. This was most poignantly seen in the mid-1800s, with the installation of running water and a sewage system, amid fears of a sanitation crisis, plus changes to the Port of Montreal, in an attempt to turn the St. Lawrence River into both a "dumping ground" and an "engine of prosperity."

Instead, rising harbour sludge and dangerous seasonal flooding served as a reminder that the natural world can be rebelliously uncooperative with human objectives. In Dagenais's book, we witness waves of engineers, doctors, industrialists, politicians, and, finally, environmentalists negotiate the relationship with nature as Montreal grows and modernizes.

Smartly illustrated with maps and photographs, *Montreal, City of Water* is more technical than narrative-driven. Yet Dagenais nonetheless presents a compelling argument, demonstrating that, ultimately, there is no separation between the island city and the water that gives it life. — *Sharon Hanna*

Strange New Country: The Fraser River Salmon Strikes of 1900–1901 and the Birth of Modern British Columbia

by Geoff Meggs
Harbour Publishing, 236 pages, $22.95

Strange New Country

Organizing a strike in British Columbia's salmon industry might have seemed like an almost impossible goal, in particular given tight timelines and the need to create an effective coalition across ethnic lines. Yet two strikes were launched more than a century ago, and the fishermen fought together, more or less, to bring about better compensation for their work.

In *Strange New Country*, Geoff Meggs argues that the strikes in 1900 and 1901 marked a turning point in the province's history. While he doesn't provide strong evidence to back up his statement, there is no doubt that the strikes were significant events both for the fishermen based in Steveston, south of Vancouver, and for the industrial elite in their mansions in the city.

Work on the fishing boats was not easy, given the need for speed during the salmon run every summer, as the fish returned to freshwater spawning grounds. Fishermen had to deal with nets up to four hundred metres long and had little protection from the elements in their twelve-metre boats.

Tensions rise when people are working hard, and there were many extra reasons for stress during the salmon runs. Indigenous fishermen were struggling to retain their right to the fish, while Japanese fishermen were looking for equality with whites, and everybody was looking for better pay for their work.

Meggs introduces us to the leaders of each group, something that helps to put a human touch on this fascinating, well-researched account of two challenging summers on the Pacific coast.
— *Dave Obee*

Following the River: Traces of Red River Women

by Lorri Neilsen Glenn
Wolsak & Wynn, 335 pages, $22

Following the River
Traces of Red River Women
LORRI NEILSEN GLENN

After discovering that her great-grandmother died in a tragic fire on Manitoba's Lake Winnipeg, Lorri Neilsen Glenn sets out to learn her story. Digging into local and family history, she traces several generations back to York Factory and the Red River Settlement. Along the way, she discovers how difficult it is to find details of the lives of her female ancestors and their contemporaries.

Glenn is a poet, an essayist, a professor emerita at Mount Saint Vincent University, and a former Halifax poet laureate, and *Following the River: Traces of Red River Women* is written in a mix of prose and poetry that is presented alongside fragments of material found in newspaper reports and museums. Readers follow her journey of discovery as we see these women's stories slowly come to life.

Glenn's search takes her through the current-day Red River region and illustrates how much the area has changed since her great-grandmother's time. Her book offers an amazing glimpse into the research process as well as into the lives of Indigenous women in the Red River region.
— *Danielle Chartier*

Snacks: A Canadian Food History

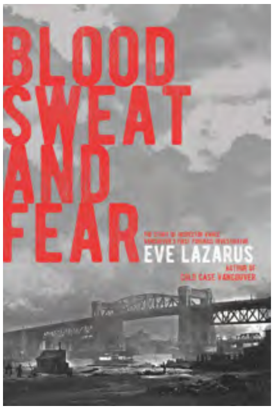
by Janice Thiessen
University of Manitoba Press,
352 pages, $27.95

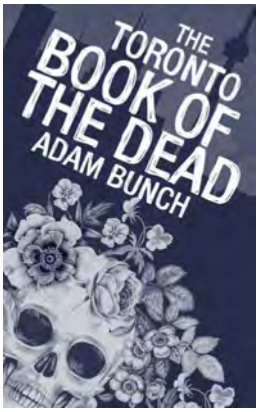
SNACKS
JANIS THIESSEN

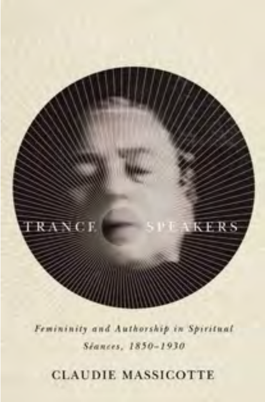
Janice Thiessen's book *Snacks: A Canadian Food History* is an excellent oral history that delves into the nostalgic and wonderful world of favourite Canadian brands. The book covers the history of independent manufactures of snack foods that include "potato chip makers Old Dutch, Hardbite, and Covered Bridge; Cheezie manufacturer W.T. Hawkins; chocolate makers Paulins, Moirs, and Ganong; and candy makers Robertson's Cavalier, Purity, Browning Harvey, and Scott-Bathgate (Nutty Club)."

Thiessen tells their stories via her research into the snacking industry and, perhaps most importantly, through sixty-one interviews conducted with "business owners, managers, workers, union leaders, and snack food consumers." The oral histories that form the core of the book bring out all aspects of the snack food industry in Canada, from the labour and techniques required to prepare these foods to the tastes and smells that made them so memorable to many Canadians.

Many food writers and journalists have pointed to snacks and junk food as the roots of obesity and of a host of social problems. However, Thiessen hopes to spark a more thoughtful history of food and how it is prepared. She reminds readers that, despite the packaging and cheap prices, there are always people behind the food we eat. So find a bowl of your favourite snack food, and dig into this book for some entertaining history.
— *Joel Ralph*







CanadasHistory.ca/Books

When you visit Chapters-Indigo via our website links and make any purchase, Canada's History receives a commission that supports our publishing and educational programs.

THE WINNIPEG FOUNDATION
Your Community Foundation
For Good. Forever.

Preserving our history...
For Good. Forever.

The Friends of Our History Fund established at The Winnipeg Foundation will help to support Master's students studying Canadian History or History of Indigenous Peoples, in the joint program offered by the University of Manitoba and the University of Winnipeg.

Thanks to generous gifts from thoughtful donors, The Winnipeg Foundation has supported the community since 1921. Gifts to The Foundation are endowed, meaning every contribution is **For Good. Forever.**

204.944.9474 | wpgfdn.org

Canadian Historical Association
CHA SHC
Société historique du Canada

The Canadian Historical Association is devoted to fostering the scholarly study and communication of history in Canada. We encourage the integration of historical knowledge and perspectives in both the scholarly and public spheres. We seek to ensure the accessibility of historical resources, and to defend the rights and freedoms of historians in the pursuit of historical inquiry. We also award numerous prizes for excellence in historical research.

The CHA is open to anyone with an interest in history. Our members come from across the country and around the world.

To find out more about the CHA, the benefits of membership, and how to join, go to www.cha-shc.ca.

La Société historique du Canada se consacre à la promotion de l'étude scientifique et la communication de l'histoire au Canada. La société vise à encourager l'intégration et la mise en perspective de la connaissance historique dans les sphères académique et publique, afin de garantir l'accessibilité aux ressources historiques et défendre les droits et libertés des historiens dans la poursuite de recherches historiques. Elle décerne également plusieurs prix pour récompenser et encourager l'excellence en recherche historique.

La SHC rassemble toute personne ayant un intérêt pour l'histoire. Les membres viennent des quatre coins du Canada et du monde entier.

Pour plus de renseignements sur la SHC, les avantages d'adhésion et comment devenir membre de la SHC, veuillez consulter notre site Internet au www.cha-shc.ca.

Photo / Photographie : Melvin Ormond Hammond, after a painting by Robert Harris (detail); Nellie McClung - D. Gordon E. Robertson (detail)

PUBLIC HISTORY AT WESTERN

MINOR & MA

HERITAGE
TOURISM
FICTION

ARCHIVES
HISTORIC SITES
MUSEUMS

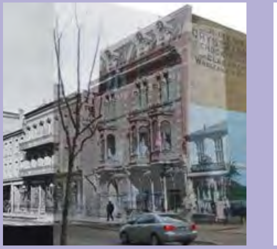
ORAL
HISTORY
CONSULTING

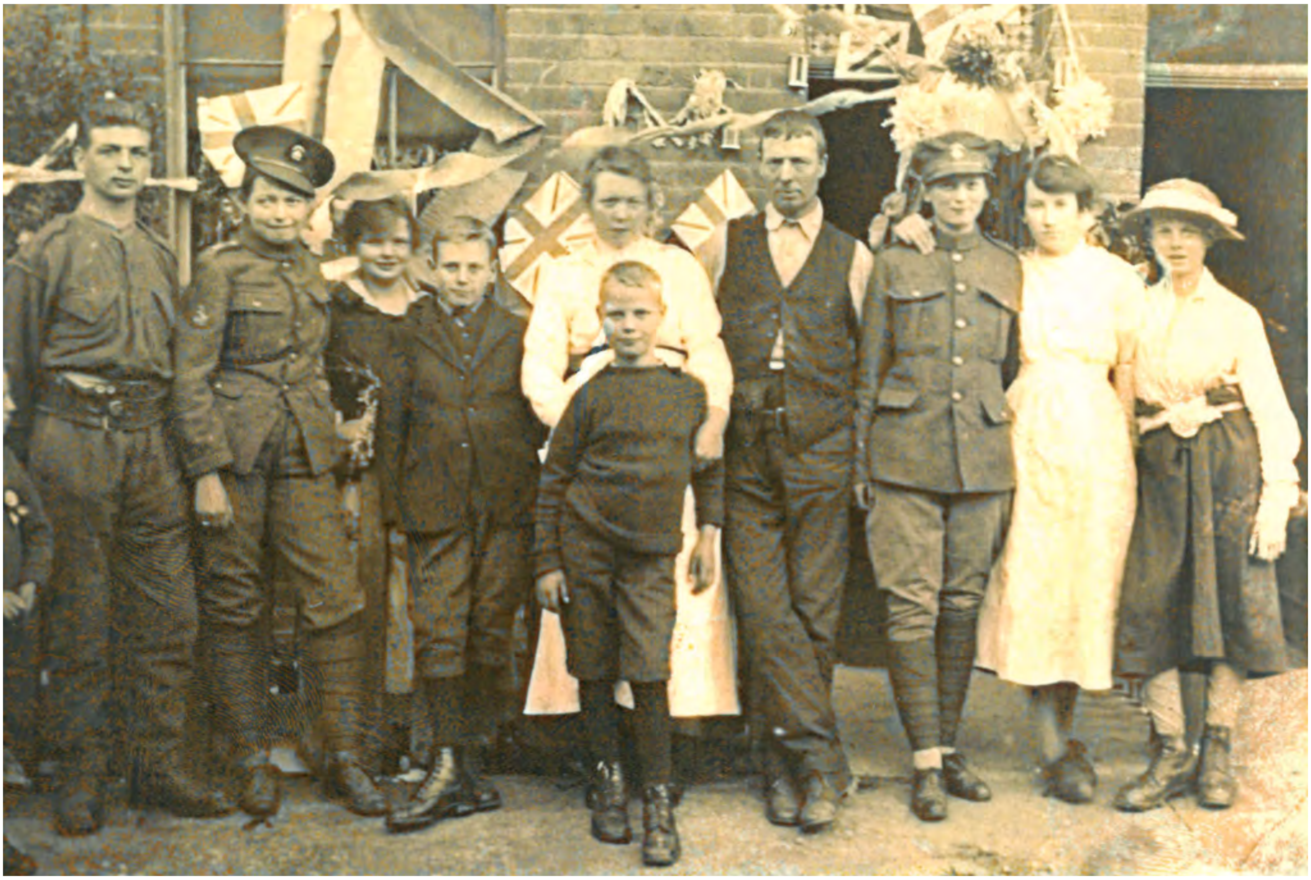
DIGITAL
HISTORY
TV & FILM

CAREER TRAINING

history.uwo.ca

Western





A day for celebrations

"Let the men dress in women's clothes and the women in men's!" was the cheery shout that went out as the family of Alfred and Alice Hollands prepared for this photograph at their home near Plumstead Common in London, England. They were celebrating the end of the First World War on November 11, 1918.

In 1920 the Hollands emigrated to Canada, and they were soon living in St. Catharines, Ontario, where they thrived. However, less than twenty years later, George Hollands, the youngest of the family and front and centre in the photo, was back in England. He was there helping his new country defend the country of his birth, as the Second World War had broken out in 1939.

George volunteered in the Canadian Army in 1940, enlisting in the Royal Canadian Engineers in Hamilton, and was sent overseas soon after. He crossed the English Channel on D-Day, June 6, 1944, and fought with his fellow soldiers through France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and into Germany.

At the war's end in 1945, he returned to Canada to be greeted warmly by his family (except for his father, who had passed away during the war). Most especially, he was greeted by his wife, Doris, and by his four children.

A proud Canadian, George went on to establish a dry-cleaning business in the St. Catharines area and served as president of two local Legions, before he died in 1994. In 2001 his children submitted his name to the Juno Beach Association, and now a brick bearing his name and record overlooks Juno Beach, France, where he landed on D-Day.

George was adopted into the Hollands family, along with other children, after his birth mother died. Other members of the Hollands family who appear in this photo are, from left to right, George's brother Alfred, sister May, birth sister Rose, brother Leslie, parents Alice and Alfred, sister Alice, stepsister Alice (yes, two girls named Alice!), and birth brother William.

In this photo the Hollands family was celebrating the end of one war, but it was not really the end of the fighting — because, as some historians remind us, the two world wars were parts of one conflict. Too young to serve in the first war, young George went on to do his part in the second.

Submitted by Kenneth (Terry) Hollands of Kitchener, Ontario, the son of George Hollands, as approved by George's daughters Patricia Fortura, Carol Roach, and Beverly Cook.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

STUDY ABROAD with

THE VIMY FOUNDATION
LA FONDATION VIMY

Win the opportunity of a lifetime by applying for the 2019 Vimy Pilgrimage Award!

Young Canadians, aged 14-17, who demonstrate outstanding civic service through volunteer work and positive contributions to their communities are eligible to apply for the Vimy Foundation's annual Vimy Pilgrimage Award. This is a fully-funded immersive educational program in Belgium and France to study Canada's tremendous First World War effort.

Scheduled in April 2019, the week-long program includes experiential learning with visits to museums, cemeteries, memorials, and former battlefields.

This exciting program is for Canadian students who want to learn more about their nation's history where it happened. Apply now!

For application information and submission deadlines, please visit
VIMYFOUNDATION.CA/PILGRIMAGE-AWARD

CANADA'S HISTORY Scotiabank®

We're opening doors for an inclusive tomorrow.

It's normal to feel a little uncertain about change.

But at TD, we want to make the changes of tomorrow a good thing for everyone. And we're starting today.

That's why we created The Ready Commitment.

We're targeting a billion dollars by 2030 towards initiatives that make the world a more inclusive place.

From helping to improve financial security...

And supporting a more vibrant planet...

To increasing access to better health...

And connecting our communities to ensure every voice is heard.

We're committed to helping create an inclusive future that we can all look forward to.

Learn more at td.com/thereadycommitment

TD

THE
READY
COMMITMENT